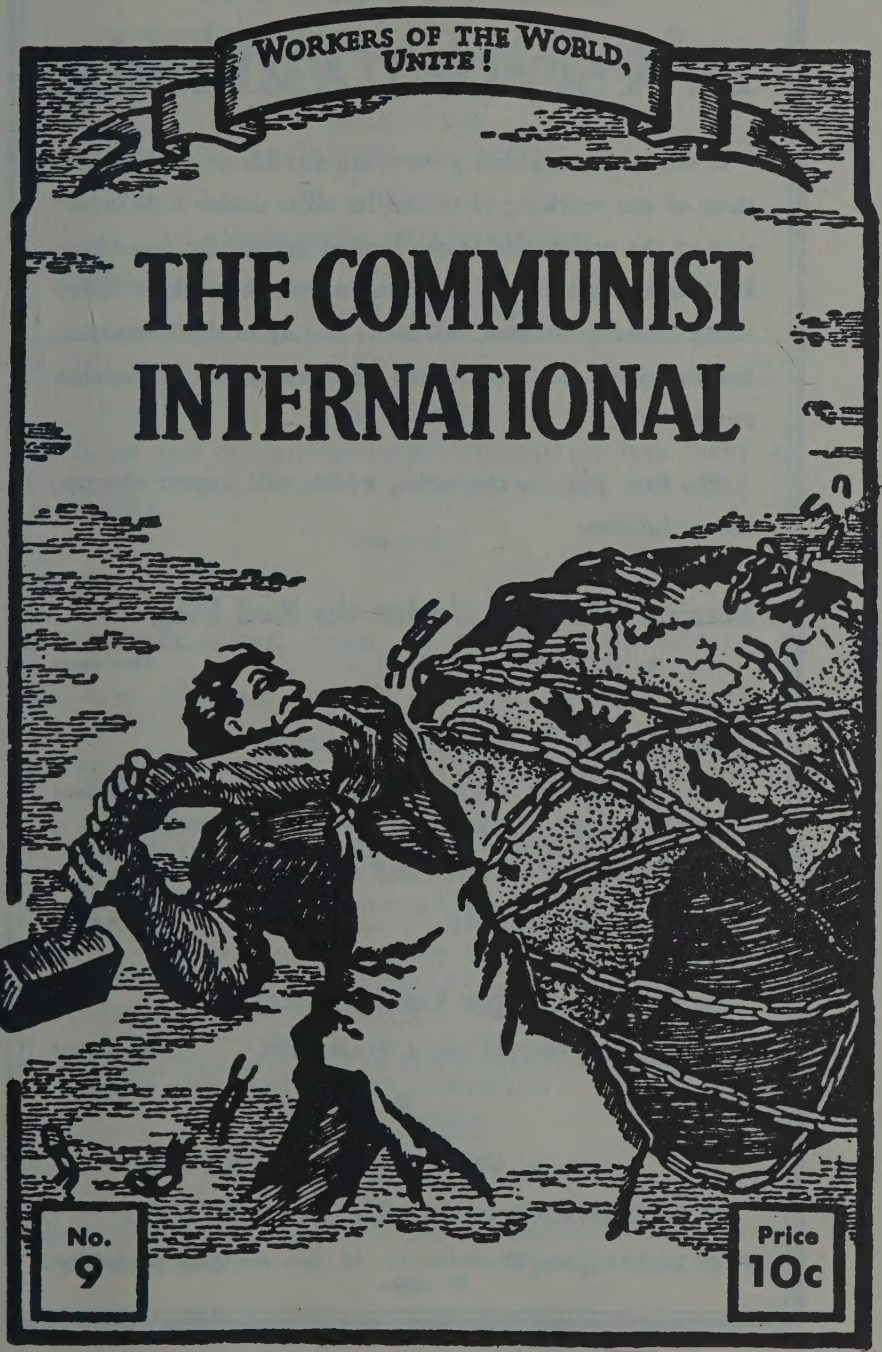
Editorial: May First
R. Palme Dutt on Lloyd George
The Negro Question in the U. S.



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Appeal of the Communist International on May First

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!
YOUNG TOILERS!
TOILERS ALL!
OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE COLONIAL AND DEPENDENT COUNTRIES!

On the 1st of May, the Communist International calls on you to undertake the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war.

The sufferings of the working class and of all the toilers in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries are growing from day to day. The partial growth of industrial production has been advantageous to only a handful of the biggest capitalist magnates. Their profits are growing, while the broad masses of the toiling people are sinking into ever deeper poverty. The measures of the bourgeoisie directed towards overcoming the crisis of the capitalist system amount to the imposition of new burdens on the toilers who are being subjected to the most ferocious and ever growing exploitation.

Millions of unemployed are losing all hopes of ever again becoming employed under capitalism. Entire generations of young people, sons and daughters of the toiling people, have been deprived of all possibilities of learning a trade or of finding work. The working woman receives starvation wages for the hard work she does while her rights are becoming ever more restricted. The high cost of living drives the toiling housewife to despair. The tax collectors and usurers rob the toiling farmer of his last strip of land. There are no prospects for the future, whatsoever, as far as the artisan, the handicraft worker and small shopkeeper are concerned under capitalist society. Ruin and extinction are the inexorable fate awaiting them under capitalism.

The bourgeoisie are making a desperate effort to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the toilers by establishing terrorist fascist governments. Fascist gangs, in the countries under fascist dictatorship, deprive the toilers of their last vestiges of freedom, disperse the trade unions, take possession of and plunder the workers' cooperative societies, destroy the legal working class press, militarize the workers' sport organizations, dispatch the unemployed and the young people who have finished school to forced labor camps, while tens of thousands of proletarian fighters, regardless of the political parties they follow, are thrown into concentration camps. A similar fate awaits the toilers in the countries where the bourgeois democracy exists, through the medium of which the Social-Democrats promised to bring them to Socialism. The democratic rights of the toilers in these countries are now being more and more curtailed, while the oppression of the broad masses is uninterruptedly being intensified, and thus is the road to fascism being paved.

The world has reached the verge of a new imperialist world war. The strained international relations are coming ever more closely to a point like that at which the world war broke out in 1914. The expenditure on the preparation for the new world slaughter is being mercilessly

squeezed out of the toilers who are doomed first and foremost to be the victims of that war.

Fascist Germany, the principal instigator of imperialist war, has already created an army which leaves the old army of the Kaiser far behind. The introduction of universal conscription, and the legalization and further increase of German armaments production which has hitherto been carried on secretly, are a warning that German fascism is feverishly completing its last preparations for war. The military alliance between fascist Germany, military fascist Japan and fascist Poland is becoming a fact. The sharp edge of this alliance is directed against the land of Socialism, against the U.S.S.R.

While a counter-revolutionary onslaught is being prepared against the U.S.S.R., imperialist wars are already being carried on between various countries. The robber war being conducted by Japanese imperialism in China has been going on for years, and is now menacing all of China. War is being waged in South America between British and American imperialism through their vassal states, Paraguay and Bolivia. Italian imperialism is calling up one group of recruits after another to the army, and is dispatching troops to Abyssinia, preparing to subject the people of Abyssinia to colonial plunder and servitude. German fascism is already reaching out its mailed fist against Austria, Lithuania and Danzig, and is making ready to put its plans of colonial plunder into operation.

Only by *mustering the broad masses of the working class into a united front of struggle* will it be possible to stop the fleecing of the toilers by the capitalists. Only in this way will it be possible to stop the further advance of the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie in establishing their bloody fascist domination. Only thus can a stop be put to the mad armament race of the war-thirsty imperialist cliques.

United action of the proletariat hastens the establishment of an alliance between the workers and toiling farmers. United action of the proletariat renders it possible for all the toilers of town and country to be drawn, under the leadership of the working class, into the struggle against capitalist plunder, bloody fascism, and wars of imperialist robbery.

Working Men and Women!

Wherever Communist and Social-Democratic workers, members of the revolutionary and reformist trade unions followed by the unorganized workers, have proceeded to consolidate their forces, the united front has already brought the first good results.

The workers of *France* have entered the path of the united front, and have repelled the first onslaughts of fascism.

The united front of the working class in *Austria* prevented the fascists from demoralizing the ranks of the Austrian proletariat which is carrying on an heroic struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship.

Workers of all political shades in *Spain* fought shoulder to shoulder in armed combat. They were not the victors in this combat, but they prevented the consolidation of the fascist dictatorship, and they are continuing heroically and in serried ranks to carry on the struggle against fascism.

In *Italy*, the Communist and Socialist workers are carrying on joint action against the robber colonial war in Abyssinia.

The proletarian forces in the mills and factories of *Germany* are

uniting for a joint struggle of the workers against the fascist terror, against the poison of chauvinism and against military adventurism, in spite of unprecedented hardships, and though under the heel of Hitler's hangman regime.

In *England* there is a growth of united action by the workers against Mosley's fascist gangs and against further deterioration of the conditions of the unemployed.

In *Poland*, the united front of Communist and Socialist workers is consolidating and extending in mass strikes against wage cuts, and against the counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet plans of the Pilsudski fascists. These first united front successes can be increased manifold, provided that the united will of the working masses will put a stop to the *policy of class collaboration,* pursued by international Social-Democracy.

The oppressed peoples in the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries are more and more entering the world front of struggle against imperialism. The Red Army in *Soviet China* is fighting the Kuomintang, the traitor to and hangman of the Chinese people, and is becoming the central gathering point for the forces of the national liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism, and against the partition of China between the imperialist powers.

Communist, Social-Democratic and non-Party workers! Members of reformist, revolutionary, anarcho-syndicalist and Christian trade unions, members of cooperative societies, sports societies, cultural and all other working class organizations!

Build the united front of all proletarians in joint struggle! The united front of the struggle against the class enemy can prevent the destruction of the rights of the toilers, can overcome fascism and strengthen the struggle for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for real government by the people, for proletarian democracy, and for Soviet power, which will do away forever with capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Workers, Toilers!

Turn your gaze on the *Soviet Union* which points the *way out of capitalist slavery, to freedom, to Socialism.* The peoples of the Soviet Union are triumphantly building Socialism. While the ruling classes in the capitalist countries are depriving the masses of the people of their rights, the U.S.S.R. is extending democracy and is drawing the masses of the people to a still greater degree into the administration of the state. Socialist property, and government by the people, as embodied in the Soviets, have become the foundation of all life in the U.S.S.R. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers and collective farmers are carrying into life the program of the mighty proletarian revolution. The workers and collective farmers of the Soviet Union, who are masters of their own fate over one-sixth of the globe, fighters for peace, and defenders of the oppressed, weak and small nations, advanced fighters for the international proletarian revolution, are raising ever higher their standard of living and their culture, and are sweeping out of their way the last remnants of capitalism, and are marching forward in full confidence through all obstacles, towards the classless society.

There are two worlds, the world of Socialism and the world of capitalism. There are two roads, the road of class struggle and that of class collaboration. The road taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the road taken by the Communist International, has

led to the abolition of unemployment in the Soviet Union, to a well-to-do life, to freedom and Socialism. The road taken by international Social-Democracy, the road of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, has led to hunger, want and fascist slavery and is leading to imperialist war.

Working Men and Women! Communists, Social-Democrats, Anarcho-Syndicalists and non-Party Workers!

In the name of the world Party of the revolutionary proletariat, the Executive Committee of the Communist International addresses the proposal to the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International that joint May Day action be organized in all capitalist countries against the capitalist offensive, fascism, for the preservation of peace, against imperialist war and in defense of the Soviet Union. The Red International of Labor Unions has already addressed a proposal to the International Federation of Trade Unions that joint demonstrations be organized on May 1. Joint action by Communist and Social-Democratic workers, by members of the reformist and revolutionary unions, will also attract the unorganized workers and the members of the anarcho-syndicalist and Christian trade unions. Joint action will draw in and weld together the broad masses who still stand aside from the class struggle, and who may fall victims to fascist demagogy.

Working Men and Women!

At joint May Day meetings, demonstrations and in strikes, show your determination to engage in united struggle under the banner of proletarian internationalism!

Against capitalist exploitation, against the capitalist offensive, for higher wages, for unemployment insurance, and against the robbery of the toiling farmers!

Against fascism and for the defense of the democratic rights of the toilers! For the release of Ernst Thaelmann, Mathias Rakosi and all revolutionary fighters! For the liberation of Largo Caballero and all anti-fascists!

Against the bloody terror in Cuba, Japan, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Poland, Finland, Hungary and all other capitalist countries! Against the death sentences in Spain, Germany and Bulgaria!

Against the imperialist armaments race, against the principal instigator of war, fascist Germany and its allies, the Polish fascists; against Japan engaged in pillaging China and preparing to attack the Soviet Union. Against British imperialism, inciting anti-Soviet war; against fascist Italy, engaged in throttling Abyssinia!

Render active support to the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace!

For the defense of the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the toilers in all lands!

Protect Soviet China!

Fight for the united front of all militant workers!

Fight for the unity of the world trade-union movement!

Onward to the victorious struggle against fascism, against capitalism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviet Power and for Socialism!

Long live May Day, the review day of the forces of the international proletariat!

Workers of all lands, unite!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Appeal of Ten Communist Parties Against the War Danger

PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!
TO THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES!
TO ALL TOILERS! TO THE TOILING MASSES!
TO ALL WHO WISH TO MAINTAIN PEACE! TO ALL ENEMIES OF IMPERIALIST WAR!

The German fascist government has introduced general conscription. It has incorporated the German civil air fleet into the military air force. The law of the fascist murder-regime on the introduction of conscription means the open carrying out of the hitherto secret arming and a feverish increase of this arming. It furnishes the war parties of all the imperialist countries with a new pretext for increasing the insane armaments competition.

The German fascists, by creating an instrument of murder which even surpasses the pre-war army of hated Prussian militarism, further increase the international tension. The Hitler government is placing war immediately on the order of the day. It immediately threatens the neighboring countries. *The German fascists are deliberately heading for a new imperialist world war.* They are directing the points of their bayonets, the mouths of their guns, their airplanes against the land of socialist construction, against the Soviet Union, against the firm walls of which every wave of fascism beats in vain.

This great war provocation has been prepared by the Hitler government by means of all the horrors of the fascist reign of terror. No fascist terror, however, has been able to break the resistance of the German working class. Under the increasing pressure of the difficulties at home, Hitler is increasing the nationalist incitement, the incitement against the Soviet Union, and is resorting to war.

* * *

Working men and women, toilers, ex-servicemen and victims of the world war!

The German imperialists were able to realize their armament plans only with the help of the other imperialist powers. The war allies of Hitler Germany, military fascist Japan and the Poland of the Pilsudski fascists are supporting the arming of the German fascists. Step by step with imperialist Germany they are increasing their armaments for the purpose of attacking the Soviet Union.

THE SUPPORTERS OF FASCIST WAR AIMS

Of all the imperialist powers, English imperialism is foremost in encouraging German armaments against the Soviet Union and feverishly making use of them in order to increase its own armaments. The war party of French imperialism, the heads of the heavy industry and the fascist bands, who in France itself are persistently encouraging armaments, favor German armaments and are endeavoring again to bring France into the anti-Soviet front. The Italian fascists, who by their

whole former policy promoted the armaments of the German fascists and who are now commencing their robber campaign in Abyssinia, submit as a pre-condition for recognizing the German armaments the arming of their allies, Horthy Hungary, Austria and Bulgaria.

German imperialism, which is now armed, is doing everything in order to obtain direct support in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Jugoslavia and in the Baltic countries for its war plans by foreign political orientation to Germany and against the Soviet Union, as well as by fostering fascist movements.

THE SOVIET PEACE POLICY

All who wish to frustrate the war provocations of German imperialism and its Japanese and Polish allies and the men behind it, must work for the realization of the *peace policy of the Soviet Union*, for the setting up of the Eastern Pact. It was the peace policy of the Soviet Union which rendered it difficult and still renders it difficult for the German fascists, the Japanese militarists, as well as all imperialist war parties, to let loose a new war. *All who wish to preserve peace, who are opponents of imperialist war, must support the peace policy of the Soviet Union and fight in order that it be rendered effective against German fascism.*

* * *

Working men and women, young workers, toilers!

Organize the mass struggle against any alliance with fascist Germany. Fight against any yielding on the part of your rulers to the pressure of the newly-armed German imperialism! *Do not believe the lying peace asseverations of the fascist Hitler government!*

The German fascist leaders maintain that the introduction of general conscription and the increase in armaments are only intended to protect the German frontiers.

They are, however, unable to name anybody who today, at the time of the introduction of general conscription, threatens the German frontiers. Hitler Germany was able to regain the Saar without any foreign-political conflicts. This is used by German imperialism, however, in order to stretch out its armed hand to the Memel district, Danzig, Austria, North Bohemia and Danish Slesvig, to the Baltic countries and increase its war incitement against the Soviet Union. *German imperialism is not preparing for defense, but is making ready for a robber attack.* It insolently rejects the Eastern Pact, because it is against peace and in favor of war.

GERMAN FASCISM AIMS AT CONQUESTS

The German fascist leaders maintain that the introduction of general conscription and the increase of armaments are putting an end to the shame of Versailles. The German imperialists would like to put in place of the robber treaties of Versailles, the burdens of which they have shifted onto the working people, fresh and still greater oppression of foreign nations. German imperialism has already shown what baseness it is capable of. In 1918, when the German imperialists thought they had won the war, they dictated the peace of Brest-Litovsk. By this peace Soviet Russia was to be overthrown and pillaged, the Soviet Ukraine converted into a German colony, the dismemberment of Poland

maintained and Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia secured to the German barons. The successors of those imperialist robbers who dictated the peace of Brest-Litovsk, the present fascist rulers of Germany, have the same plan in mind, when today they speak of securing room for expansion of the German people towards the East. *They want to obtain, with the blood of the German people, territory for the German trust magnates, the Prussian Junkers, the former officers of the Hohenzollern army.*

* * *

Communists and Social-Democratic workers, members of the trade unions of all tendencies, women and youth!

The Communist Parties of Germany, France, England, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Austria, Hungary and Lithuania declare:

Under the leadership of the Communist International we have fought uninterruptedly shoulder to shoulder with the German working people against the Versailles peace. We have fought and will also fight in the future against any fixing of the State frontiers by force of arms, against any national oppression, for the right of self-determination.

We shall continue with redoubled strength, at the head of the working class and the working masses in town and country, to fight unweariedly and with all means of the proletarian class struggle under the banner of proletarian internationalism, against the class enemy in our own country, against imperialist war preparations and war incitement of our own imperialists.

SUPPORT GERMAN WORKING CLASS

For this reason we shall at the same time mobilize the masses of the working people *in every country*: against the war provocations of the fascist rulers of Germany, the chief instigators of a new imperialist world war, against all their allies, against all who promote the warmongering German imperialism. We shall support the heroic working class of Germany in its fight against the fascist dictatorship, against the war provocations of German imperialism. For we know: *Hitler means war, and the overthrow of Hitler by the proletarian revolution will destroy forever the war menace of German imperialism.*

We welcome, therefore, every increase in the defensive power of the only fatherland of the working people, every step made towards strengthening its Red workers' and peasants' army, which secures peace, every strengthening of the frontiers of the socialist country. In the event of a counter-revolutionary war against the land of socialism we shall support with every means *the Red Army of the Soviet Union and fight for the defeat of German imperialism and its allies, for the defeat of every Power which makes war against the Soviet Union.* We shall promote with all means the victory of the socialist Soviet Union in its fight against all who attack this land of Socialism.

War against the Soviet Union is war against the proletarians in all countries, against the working people in all countries. It is a war against all the oppressed and exploited in the whole world.

Those who wish to maintain peace, those who are opposed to imperialist war must know: wherever the German fascists launch war, there the world war will inevitably commence. No country will be able to escape this world conflagration and its effects.

APPEAL TO SOCIALIST PARTIES

We approach the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, and especially the Social-Democratic organizations in Germany itself, we approach the Socialist Party of France, the Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party in England, the Socialist Party of Italy, the Social-Democratic Parties in Czechoslovakia, the Polish Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialists of Austria, the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary, and the Social-Democratic Party of Lithuania with the proposal:

To organize immediately joint conferences, demonstrations against the war-mongering of the German fascists, for support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and for this purpose form joint committees.

Jointly prepare and carry out the May Day demonstrations under the slogan of the fight against German imperialism, against all who support its armaments, against the war preparations of our own imperialists; under the slogan of joint support of the fight of the German proletarians against the Hitler dictatorship, under the slogan of support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

We approach these parties with the proposal to make a joint appeal to all trade unions, workers' sports organizations, peasant organizations, to all mass organizations of the toilers who are prepared to fight against war and fascism, in order to draw them all into this united fighting front.

AGAINST WAR, FOR SOCIALISM!

Down with the chief war-monger, Hitler fascism!

Down with its war allies, military-fascist Japan and the Polish fascists! Down with imperialist war preparations in all countries!

For the support of the working people in Germany in their fight for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship!

For the defense of the fatherland of all toilers, the Soviet Union! For its peace policy, for the Eastern Pact!

Forward to the fight in the united front for the maintenance of peace, against imperialist war and against fascism!

Forward to the fight for Socialism, which alone secures peace.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF GERMANY, FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, POLAND, ITALY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, BELGIUM, AUSTRIA, HUNGARY, AND LITHUANIA.
(*Sections of the Communist International.*)

May First, 1935

THE world proletariat will meet May 1, 1935, in an extremely tense international atmosphere. Never since 1914, when the world imperialist war broke out, has the breath of war been so powerfully felt as now, in the spring of 1935. International contradictions are now more tense than they were in 1914, on the eve of the first imperialist world war.

But why, if the international situation is such that it already exceeds the contradictions of 1914, have those in the capitalist countries who are the instigators of war *not* yet succeeded in beginning the new slaughter of the peoples? The reason for this lies in the *difference between the two historical periods.* When on May 1, 1914, the international proletariat demonstrated on the streets against the direct menace of imperialist war, the international organization of the working class, the Second International, was already *blighted with opportunism—which during the war years grew into social-chauvinism.* The Social-Democratic parties, in pursuit of their policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, were already preparing to support the imperialist war of their own bourgeoisie under the guise of defending their fatherland. Only in one country, in tsarist Russia, was there a truly revolutionary party of Bolsheviks, which fought against the war, and fought consistently to convert the imperialist war into civil war.

Now, the situation is different. The vanguard of the international proletariat, the working class of the U.S.S.R., is fighting against war, by defending the cause of peace now as a ruling class, wielding power in a gigantic country which extends over one-sixth of the earth. The toilers of the U.S.S.R. have the workers' and peasants' Red Army at their disposal, which draws its power not only from the emancipated peoples of the Soviet Union, but from the whole of the international proletariat. This army is a might bulwark of peace. *Now,* on the eve of May 1, 1935, when the workers and toilers of all political trends are faced with the capitalist offensive and are beginning to forge their own united front under the yoke of fascism, and the sharpening danger of war—the struggle to maintain peace and against imperialist war is under the leadership of the *world revolutionary party* of the proletariat, the *Communist International.*

The peculiarities of the struggle around the problems of peace and war on the eve of May 1, 1935, are as follows:

At one pole, where preparations are going forward for a new imperialist war, we have the *fascist vanguard* of international imperialism. Fascism and war—these are the last words of bourgeois wisdom, in their search for a way out of the crisis by means of further robbing the toiling masses.

At the other pole, where the struggle is going on to maintain peace against the forces heading for imperialist war, there stands the mighty proletarian State, the land of Socialism, the U.S.S.R., the vanguard of the toilers of all lands in their struggle against war.

Fascism and preparations for imperialist war (chauvinist slander, war preparations, etc.) *are most closely interwoven at the present histor-*

ical moment. And in just the same way, socialism, proletarian internationalism, and the struggle to maintain peace, are closely interwoven. The workers of all countries are beginning to muster together all their forces to offer successful resistance to the capitalist offensive, fascism and the threat of imperialist war.

The imperialist bourgeoisie of all countries are seeking a way out of the crisis in war. Fascist Germany is the *chief* instigator of war.

In these circumstances, on the eve of May 1, 1935, the main task facing the proletarians of all countries is, as closely as possible, to *link up the struggle against the capitalist offensive, the struggle against fascism and the struggle against preparations for imperialist war*, and to gather all the forces of the proletariat into a united front of struggle against the violence of the fascist potentates, whose military designs are a menace to all who are keeping watch over peace, and first and foremost to the *Soviet Union.*

* * *

"Try-out wars", as the imperialist military press calls the wars which are already taking place in South America, the rapacious drive of the Japanese in China, a drive which is now menacing a country with a population of 400 million, and the war against Abyssinia being waged by imperialist Italy, are already fraught with the dangers of a new world imperialist war for a fresh partition of the world.

While a counter-revolutionary onslaught is being prepared against the U.S.S.R., imperialist wars are already being carried on between various countries. The robber war, being conducted by Japanese imperialism in China, has been going on for years, and is now menacing all of China. War is being waged in South America between British and American imperialism through their vassal states, Paraguay and Bolivia. Italian imperialism is calling up one group of recruits after another to the army, and is dispatching troops to Abyssinia, preparing to subject the people of Abyssinia to colonial plunder and servitude. German fascism is already reaching out its mailed fist against Austria, Lithuania and Danzig, and is making ready to put its plans of colonial plunder into operation.

The law of March 16, wherein the Hitler government introduced universal conscription, had demonstrated to the world at large that German imperialism has built up an enormous army and is continuing to build up this army at a furious rate. This army is a perfected edition of the Kaiser Wilhelm army of Prussian militarism, equipped according to the last word in military science. The German trust magnates, the Prussian Junkers, and the fascist rulers of Germany, are reckoning upon launching a new world war in a very short space of time. A few forced assurances of their devotion to peace on the part of the leaders of the fascist bands in no way alter the fact that the *German fascists are the chief instigators of war in Europe.* All the measures they have adopted in the sphere of home and foreign policy are directed towards preparations for the speediest possible launching of a new world imperialist blood bath, and first and foremost, counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

The legalization of the armament building, which has been done hitherto in secret, means the military strategic and military technical preparations for the new imperialist war. The armaments race being carried on by fascist Germany reveals its expansionist plans, its plans

to partition Soviet Ukraine, to establish a "Great Germany" by seizing Memel, Austria, Danzig, etc. By its open preparations and its further increase in armament building, by establishing a gigantic army, whose regular forces now in peace time amount to almost one million combatants, by training reserves at an extremely rapid rate, and by reorganizing the whole economic life of the country on military lines, the German fascists also want to create the *premises in the sphere of foreign relations*, that will make it possible for them to carry out their expansionist plans and to bring about a new partition of the globe. In so demonstratively stressing their military might, the German fascist leaders are mainly pursuing the fulfillment of three tasks in their foreign policy.

First of all, they want to show their military allies—the ruling Japanese military fascist clique and the Polish Pilsudski fascists, that Hitler Germany is an ally with superior forces from a military point of view, and that the Japanese and Polish instigators of war can expect to find a firm military ally in Germany.

Second, the German fascists want to help to bring about the victory of the open anti-Soviet tendencies in the camp of the British bourgeoisie. The anti-Soviet circles among the British imperialists have encouraged the armament of Germany and Japan, insofar as they have been directed against the Soviet Union. They are afraid, however, that the German bombing planes and gigantic zepellins may become the means of attacking not only the U.S.S.R., but London as well. The British imperialists are afraid that military fascist Japan may fulfill its plans of seizing the whole of China. Hence the struggle between groupings in the camp of the English bourgeoisie, which to a certain extent is reflected in Britain's official foreign policy. The demonstrative display by German imperialism of its military might has in view in the sphere of foreign policy to help those imperialist circles in Great Britain to get the upper hand, who want to rely upon the forces of German imperialism, in order as quickly as possible to unloose a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, and to solve the main contradiction of our epoch, namely, that between the capitalist world and the U.S.S.R., in favor of capitalism.

The *third* objective which the German fascists are pursuing in their foreign policy is to frighten the bourgeoisie and the broad masses of the people in the small countries and in those capitalist countries which do not want war at the present moment. The German fascists want to terrorize those countries and peoples (Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, Switzerland, etc.) which have perfectly good cause to be afraid of the menace that German imperialism constitutes to their state and national independence. The German fascists are trying—and not without success—to force the leading political circles of these countries to take the side of imperialist Germany, to force them into a rapprochement with the Hitler government.

German fascism has become the chief instigator of war not only by virtue of the fact that it has given the imperialist war-mongers in all countries a new stimulus to speed up the armaments race. This is not all. The main point is that German fascism is carrying on a struggle to bring about a new re-division of the globe, is openly preparing counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R., and is sharpening its terror against the small and weak nations, against the masses of the people who are anxious to avoid war at all costs. It wants with its policy of

instilling terror to lead things to war, and to break down the resistance to war of the broad masses and of the small nations.

In every single country, the working class must not, for a minute, lose sight of the fact that *the chief enemy in their own countries* is their own bourgeoisie, the war mongers at home. The working class must now already begin an extensive struggle against the chauvinist slander that is being whipped up by the bourgeoisie. At the same time, it is the duty of the international proletariat to concentrate all their forces, all the forces of the toilers of all countries, against the chief instigator of war, which is the chief pioneer of the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. The chief instigator today of war against the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the international proletariat, is at the same time the chief enemy of the *international proletariat* as a whole. Therefore, it is the task of proletarian internationalism to concentrate the forces of the international proletariat against German fascism and its allies. And this means that the fatherland of the international proletariat, the U.S.S.R., must be defended, by all possible means. It means that the utmost assistance must be given to the German proletariat in their struggle to overthrow the butcher dictatorship of Hitler fascism.

* * *

The fascist oppression of the toiling population and the approaching war have become possible because of the policy *of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, on the basis of the bourgeois democracy, pursued by the Social-Democratic parties*, when they promised the working masses that they would overcome the crisis, that peace would be assured and socialism achieved by "peaceful" democratic means. The conditions of the working class in the capitalist countries, their want, hunger and unemployment, the ruin of the toiling masses in town and country, and their want of political rights—this is the situation to which the masses have been brought by following the road pointed out to the toilers by international Social-Democracy.

And along the other road, the beginning of which was laid down by the Bolsheviks in decades of struggle, under tsarism and through the mighty October Socialist Revolution,—along that road, indicated in the past by the workers' Communist International, and still indicated today, we see how great are the successes achieved already by the working class and the toiling masses. In the U.S.S.R., in the land of the proletarian dictatorship, the toiling masses, led by the working class and its Bolshevik Party, led by Comrade Stalin, the mighty leader of the international proletariat, are building socialism, sweeping aside all obstacles in their path. Men and women, old and young, are realizing the mighty aims put forward by October, step by step. Free, full of joy, with clear prospects of further improving their standard of living, in possession of ever growing treasures of material welfare and culture, they are now on the threshold of the classless society. The social ownership of the means of production is destroying the last remnants of capitalist private ownership. Extensive Soviet democracy has been brought about on the basis of socialist ownership, in the process of rooting out class distinctions, in the process of destroying classes. The toilers of the U.S.S.R. no longer need to fear the morrow, and the future. All traces of unemployment, and uncertainty about the morrow, are gone in the Soviet Union. The youth of the Soviet Union, who know of the oppression of the toilers only from reminiscences or stories they have heard, enter life with no alarm regard-

ing the future. Workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are mustered in the Soviets, on the basis of mighty Soviet democracy, and exercise the only power of the people that has existed in the history of mankind.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union, this mighty proletarian power, surrounded by capitalist powers, is a policy directed against the feverish armaments race being pursued by all the imperialist war parties, and is a very living proof of the fact that socialism means peace between the peoples, while capitalism means war.

The struggle of the U.S.S.R. for peace means a struggle not only for the safety of the frontiers of this mighty socialist country. It is a struggle for a worthy existence for the people in all the imperialist, colonial and semi-colonial countries, a struggle to save the treasures of human culture, a struggle against the barbarity of war and fascism. Backed up by the inexhaustible wealth of one-sixth of the globe, won and defended by the workers and peasants in armed struggle against their exploiters and oppressors, backed up by the spiritual and physical might of 170 million people, ready to lay down their lives in defense of the socialist property they have won for themselves, and in defense of socialist construction—the Soviet Union points the way to all who desire peace, freedom and socialism. This way is the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviet democracy, which means the government of the overwhelming majority of the toilers over an insignificant minority of exploiters, the only power that leads to socialism,—Soviet Power.

All the waves of counter-revolution and of fascism, have broken and still continue to break against the unassailable ramparts of the Soviet Power. The Soviet system has shown itself to be strong enough to safeguard the economic independence of the land of the Soviets from world capitalist economy. And if the imperialist war policy of the German fascists, of all their allies and instigators behind the scenes, does lead to war, then the workers' and peasants' Red Army of the Soviet Union, together with the toilers of all countries, will be able to defend the only fatherland of the proletariat.

> "And let not Messieurs the bourgeoisie blame us if on the morrow of the outbreak of such a war they will miss certain of the governments that are near and dear to them, and who are today happily ruling 'by the grace of god'." (*From the report of Comrade Stalin to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.*)

The U.S.S.R. and its Red Army have allies in the toilers of all lands who are bound to it by living bonds. The system of concluding alliances between imperialist countries will never overcome the contradictions that exist between the allies. Only the U.S.S.R. and the toilers of all capitalist countries—are bound by absolutely identical interests, by the class interests of the proletarians of all countries. Proof of this is to be found in the manifesto issued by the Communist Parties of Germany, France, England, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Austria, Hungary and Lithuania, in which we read:

> *"We greet every success in the defensive power of the only fatherland of the toilers, every step taken to strengthen its workers' and peasants' Red Army, this bulwark of peace, every measure taken to fortify the borders of the land of socialism.* Should a counter-revolutionary war take place against the homeland of socialism, *we shall support the Red Army of the Soviet*

Union with all means at our disposal and shall fight to bring about the defeat of German imperialism and its allies, to bring about the defeat of every state which begins war on the Soviet Union."

To defend the Soviet Union from all its enemies, to further its victory over all who dare to raise their hands against the land of the proletarian dictatorship, means to defend the base of world revolution, to defend the road which will free the workers of all capitalist countries from hunger and poverty, from the capitalist yoke and the chains of fascism, and lead them forward to socialism.

* * *

The victorious construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is of exceptional importance for developing the united front of the fighting proletariat in the capitalist countries. The prohibition of all workers' organizations in a number of fascist countries, such as Germany, Austria and Latvia, has shown the masses of workers the results of Social-Democratic policy, has shown them that the policy of class collaboration, not only does not lead to socialism, but that it cannot even maintain the most elementary rights and liberties of the working class, and paves the way for fascism. Both these facts of world historic importance are the source which serves to revolutionize the masses of reformist workers. These are the reasons which are causing the working masses to seek ways and means for joint struggle, together with the Communist vanguard, which is persistently calling upon all fighting proletarians to rally their forces for joint struggle against the enemy. There has been a considerable increase in the desire for the united front during the year which has passed since May 1, 1934. The first fruits of success have been achieved in the creation of the united front between Communist and Social-Democratic workers in France, Austria, Italy, Spain, Greece, England, Poland and last but not least, in Germany.

The bourgeoisie have been impotent to break down the resistance of the working class, even in Germany, Italy, Austria and Hungary, where the most cruel fascist terror has been operated. They have not been successful in demoralizing the ranks of the working class. In all countries revolutionary battles break out again and again. The Red Army of Soviet China is carrying on a successful struggle against the drives of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang and the imperialists. For the first time in the history of Spain, the workers of Asturias organized Soviets and a Red Army. The Spanish workers did not emerge victorious in this struggle, but they prevented the consolidation of the fascist dictatorship. And in all the remaining countries there is an increase in the struggle of the toilers against the merciless capitalist offensive upon the standard of living of the masses.

The example set by the brilliant victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the menace of imperialist wars (not only on the part of the fascist countries, but also on the part of those imperialist powers where bourgeois democracy still remains as the form in which the bourgeoisie realize their dictatorship), the fascist terror which is already rife in some countries and hangs menacingly over other countries, and the steady offensive of capital—all these are stimulating workers of all political trends to close up their ranks.

Under pressure from the masses of workers, even the Social-Democratic leaders in some countries have been compelled to form a united

front with the Communist Parties. In France, Austria, Italy, and Latvia, and at one time in the Saar, agreements have been arrived at with the leading Social-Democratic bodies for unity of action between the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties. But in spite of the repeated proposals made by the E.C.C.I., the Second International has hitherto refused to establish unity of action on an international scale.

Today, on the eve of May 1, the Social-Democratic Parties have in several countries joined their bourgeois governments. The fact that the Belgian Social-Democrats have joined the government, that a Social-Democratic government has been formed in Norway, that the Labor Party in England is getting ready to form a new Labor government—all this goes to strengthen the forces in the leadership of the Second International that encouraged the Second International to reject the proposal for the united front in support of the Spanish workers, made by the Communist International. The desire of the masses of Social-Democrats for the united front is growing, while the tendencies inside the Social-Democratic parties and the reformist trade unions making for the creation of the united front are becoming stronger. Although the Amsterdam Trade-Union International has given an insolent and curt refusal to the proposal made by the Profintern that joint demonstrations be organized on May 1, the revolutionary members of the trade unions will not on this account cease their struggle for the holding of joint demonstrations, but will participate in united front demonstrations on May 1, without obtaining previous sanction. The new proposal made by the Comintern to the Second International about the organization of joint demonstrations on May 1, is based on the desire of the masses of workers for unity of action. Whatever decision the Second International may arrive at on this point, one thing remains unaltered: the Communist Parties are preparing to demonstrate, and will conduct their demonstrations on May 1, under the flag of the united front of struggle of the whole of the fighting proletariat against the capitalist offensive, against fascism, for the maintenance of peace, against imperialist war, and in defense of the Soviet Union. And after May 1, they will also continue this struggle in defense of the vital interests of the toilers of all countries.

May 1, 1935, will be a day of the review of the forces of the fighters of the proletariat, a day when the international proletariat will undertake united front action against the capitalist offensive, fascism and war. On this day, the fighting proletariat in all lands will demonstrate the will to victory of the working class, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviets, for Socialism.

Lloyd George as the "Savior" of the British Bourgeoisie*

By R. PALME DUTT

SINCE the close of the first round of wars and revolutions Lloyd George, the outstanding and ablest leader of the British bourgeoisie and the sole surviving front-rank statesman of the war epoch, has been in political eclipse. Today, on the eve of the second round of wars and revolutions, he is once again in the political forefront. This portent is a sign of the times, both for the world situation, and for the inner situation in Britain.

During the critical years 1916-1922 Lloyd George was the undisputed dictator of British politics. In the hour of danger the entire bourgeoisie turned aside from their traditionally trained upper-class statesmen, the Balfours and Asquiths, to the "demagogue-adventurer" whom they had denounced and reviled, for their salvation. Lloyd George's war-dictatorship was the dictatorship of the most reckless, aggressive chauvinist elements of finance-capital, of the "war millionaires". By an audacious combination of ruthlessness, cunning and maneuver, he steered the ship of British imperialism to its disastrous victory in the war, to an unparalleled expansion of the Empire, and then through the revolutionary rapids of the post-war years, of the revolutionary wave in India, Ireland, Egypt and in Britain. But in 1921 began the chronic economic stagnation of British capitalism, which has continued unbroken since, with only minor ups and downs on a low level.

Lloyd George's star waned. Once the hour of immediate menace, of the war-crisis and of the revolutionary wave, was passed, the bourgeoisie thrust aside the "adventurer" and his too "dangerous" policies, and sought to return to "normal" conditions. By the "palace-revolution" of the Carlton Club meeting on October, 1922, Lloyd George and his coalition system was displaced; Conservatism took the reins under the leadership of a Bonar Law and a Baldwin. "Tranquility" was the watchword of the new phase. For twelve years Lloyd George, despite repeated attempts to come again into the forefront, notably in 1929, when he brought forward his Reconstruction Plan, has remained in compulsory retirement, although still exercising a considerable influence on policy, especially on international policy.

Today Lloyd George is once again brought to the front amid the almost universal acclamation of the bourgeois party leaders and press. His announcement in December, 1934, of a new program to counter unemployment and the economic crisis, although the actual details published were meager and far from novel, was nevertheless hailed by the entire capitalist press from "Left" to Right, and indeed from Labor to fascist, as a political event of the first magnitude and of the highest promise. His

* This article was written on March 5, before the publication of the actual Lloyd George program, and before the outcome of the negotiations between the National Government and Lloyd George. The analysis of forces can accordingly only be provisional, and will require further working out on the basis of subsequent developments.

campaign, opened in January, 1935, was met with warm welcomes from every party leader, including the ministers of the National Government and the governmental press; and reports were widely current of projects, and even negotiations, for the reconstruction of the National Government to include Lloyd George. In the beginning of March, the National Government directly approached Lloyd George, requesting him to submit to them his proposals which would receive careful attention.

From all this carefully organized publicity and semi-official reception it is abundantly clear that the present campaign of Lloyd George, unlike the unsuccessful campaign of 1929, cannot be regarded as merely a campaign of an individual leader and his group to regain power, but takes on rather the character of *a planned move of the main bourgeois forces to bring Lloyd George to the front at the present moment as a new political factor or as the instrument of a new turn in policy.*

What underlies this new situation? Why does the bourgeoisie show signs of turning again to Lloyd George after twelve years of neglect?

Underlying this situation is the *increasing bankruptcy of policy of the National Government.* But this in turn is the reflection of the worsening of the economic situation, the change in the relation of class forces and advance of working-class militancy, and the new situation in the sphere of foreign policy.

The National Government was formed in 1931, to meet the situation of the financial crisis of that year, the discrediting of the second Labor Government, and the heavy program of cuts which it was necessary to carry through against the working class. By the devices of the "national" facade, supposedly above parties, with the nominal leading role of the former Labor Party leaders, MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas, the bourgeois front was able to take advantage of the discontent of the workers with the Labor Government, to inflict a heavy defeat on the Labor Party, and to establish a strong government of capitalist concentration. The National Government had a considerable measure of success in its immediate objectives. It carried through the cuts to balance the budget. By this worsening of the workers' standards, by the depreciation of the pound and by the imposition of a tariff system, it was able to give a temporary stimulus to British economy. In Britain, during 1933-4, the recovery was felt more powerfully than in any other capitalist country, although in fact on a continuing low level, below pre-war, and solving none of the basic problems. At the same time the dictatorship against the workers was strengthened by a series of administrative and legislative measures, especially the Sedition Act and the Unemployment Act; while the workers' struggle was heavily weakened by the effects of the open treachery of the main Labor Party leaders and the passivity of the remainder.

Nevertheless, by the end of 1934, and still more by the beginning of 1935, it was clear that the role of the National Government was becoming exhausted.

First, the economic situation began to show new signs of worsening. The stimulus through tariffs and currency depreciation was losing its effect; the home market, in the words of the Minister of Trade, Runciman, was "saturated". The foreign trade situation in 1934, showed a large increase in the adverse balance by 27 million pounds, and a return to a net deficit in the balance of payments. The minor "boom" for profits and security prices, set in motion by the upward movement of 1933-34, was reaching an end in a series of speculation scandals (pepper, tin, etc.)

which reflected directly on the National Government. The pound began a new fall. The unemployment figures for January rose steeply by a quarter of a million to 2,325,000 or only 63,000 below January, 1934.

Second, the dissatisfaction of an increasing proportion of the bourgeoisie at the lack of positive policy of the Government grew marked. This reflected itself in the growing Conservative revolt against the MacDonald-Baldwin combination and demand for a pure Conservative Government. The most aggressive expression of this was the Right wing Conservative revolt, directed immediately on the issues of India and of armaments. This opposition nearly obtained a majority at the Bristol conference of the Conservative Party in October, 1934. It mustered 79 Conservative M.P.'s to vote against the Government over the India Bill in January, 1935. At the Wavertree by-election in February, 10,575 voted for the Right Conservative candidate, against 13,771 for the Government Conservative candidate, even at the cost of letting the Labor candidate in. The demand for reconstruction of the National Government was general in the governmental ranks, even though this demand covered many different tendencies.

Third, and most important, the wave of working-class struggle began to rise anew in 1934. This had shown itself already in the response to the National March and Congress in the beginning of the year, supported by a wide proportion of local labor bodies, despite official bans. It showed itself further in the active mass struggle against fascism, notably in the episodes of Olympia and Hyde Park on September 9, 1934. At the same time the workers began once again to stream to voting Labor. The local elections in November, 1934, revealed a powerful sweep to Labor, returning Labor majorities in many of the principal towns, including, for the first time, London.

The rising working-class struggle reached a new high point in the beginning of 1935, with the battle against the Unemployment Act and the enforced retreat of the Government. The newly appointed bureaucratic Unemployment Assistance Board, established under the Act, took over control on January 7, and proceeded to enforce new scales of relief which meant wholesale cuts for the unemployed. The response was an overwhelming mass movement of resistance, especially in South Wales, the North East Coast and Scotland. This mass struggle is directly led by the new united front leadership, represented by the Communist Party, the Independent Labor Party and the National Unemployed Workers' Movement. Within less than a month, on February 5, the Government was compelled to suspend the new scales. An attempt to delay this suspension for one week was immediately defeated by a further wave of struggle, centering round Sheffield, and the government was compelled to retreat again. By the day of this second retreat the confusion of the Government was such that the Prime Minister was compelled to answer in Parliament that he was vainly endeavoring to establish contact with his own Minister of Labor, in order to discover what was the line of the Government.

The effect of this retreat of the Government before the united front mass struggle, combined with the signs of the worsening economic situation and political uncertainty, produced a wave of demoralization and semi-panic in bourgeois and governmental circles. A survey of the governmental press during this period reveals a continuous exhortation against "panic". On February 11, the *Times* editorial, "Revision Without Panic", noted that:

"The impression of lack of cohesion, lack of decision and lack of calm is unfortunate."

It went on to insist that the consequences of the situation must be faced "without panic". On February 13, the *Times* editorial returned to the theme:

"The breakdown of the regulations suggests the need for fresh resolution rather than for panic. Nevertheless panic has raised its head."

On February 14, the *Times* editorial noted the effect of the situation:

"to fray people's nerves and to weaken confidence. Rumors were set going which in an exaggerated form were circulated very widely on the Continent."

On February 15, the *Times* editorial returned to the theme of

"recent signs of a decline of confidence in the continuation of industrial recovery and of British credit. . . . The fall in British Government securities and on the Stock Exchange reflects nervousness at home and abroad."

And on February 21, Baldwin spoke of "the curious state of hysteria and panic" which had developed:

"The 'curious state of hysteria and panic', as Mr. Baldwin called it on Thursday (February 21), which reached its height about a fortnight ago both in the City and at Westminster, seems for the time being at all events to have been allayed." (*Times*, Feb. 23, 1935.)

It is against this background of worsening of the situation from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, weakening of the National Government and advance of the workers' united front of mass struggle, that the significance of the Lloyd George campaign must be judged.

The Lloyd George campaign so far falls into two sharply defined stages: the first, before the new phase of intensified mass struggle had developed; the second, after it.

The first announcement of the Lloyd George campaign took place in December, 1934. At that time the principal outward sign of the profound mass stirring against the National Government which was developing had shown itself in the overwhelming electoral sweep to Labor at the local elections in November, and the consequent prospect of a sweeping Labor victory at the future general election. Under these conditions Lloyd George addressed himself in the first place directly to the Labor Party. The first announcement of his campaign appeared, not in the general press, but in exclusive interviews to the *Daily Herald* and to the *News Chronicle*, that is, to the Labor and Liberal organs. The interview was prominently featured over the entire front page of the *Daily Herald* of December 15. He based his stand on the familiar "New Deal" type of analysis of the "breakdown" of the existing economic system (so also his speech in the House of Commons on December 13, "*the whole machinery of wealth production and of wealth distribution has broken down*"):

"There is something desperately wrong with a system which cannot adequately feed, clothe, house or even provide employ-

ment for a large proportion of its workers. And I'm going to spend the last years of my life in a big effort to alter it.

"The general election will show an immense upheaval in favor of a complete overhaul of our economic system."

He proclaimed that he had prepared a "Plan" in consultation with "a group of eminent economists, business men and financiers", to be "published early in the New Year". The only specific point mentioned was State control of the Bank of England:

"National control of the Bank of England as the key to economic recovery and reconstruction is a foremost point in my program. The Bank of England must become a real State Bank."

While the "Plan" remained vague, the appeal to the Labor Party for a future "Left Government" was direct:

"I am free and independent, tied to no party, but I am ready to cooperate with anybody to get something done. Labor will win a big victory at the next general election. Here is as much work as any Government of the Left can do in five years —why can't we get together to do it?"

The role of Lloyd George up to this point is simple and transparent. A sweeping Labor victory is in prospect at the future general election. Lloyd George comes forward on behalf of the bourgeoisie to offer to form a "Left" Bloc Government, or Liberal Labor Coalition, *i.e.*, to guide the prospective Labor majority in the interests of the bourgeoisie. This proposal at the outset receives a high degree of welcome from the official Labor leadership, who fear nothing more than the exposure of having to form a Labor Government on the basis of an absolute Labor majority. The *Daily Herald* editorial on December 15, noted that his demand for a "drastic overhauling and reconstruction of the economic organization of the country" was "all to the good":

"The main thing is that so far as can be seen, Mr. Lloyd George on one essential is in full accord with the Labor Party."

The leader of the Labor Party, Lansbury, in a speech at Mitcham on December 15, declared:

"If Mr. Lloyd George and his friends want to help re-plan, help us to reorganize British industry and get back the land and the mineral of the country into the hands of the whole nation, we shall welcome their help."

"Re-plan", "reorganize", "overhaul", "reconstruct" (plus land nationalization and statification of the Bank of England)—this is the typical Liberal line put forward, with which the Labor Party declares itself in full accord and ready to cooperate with Lloyd George on this basis.

But this initial flirtation of Lloyd George and the Labor Party was destined to receive a sharp shock. On the one hand, it aroused an immediate outcry from the membership of the Labor Party. On the other hand, the mass struggle developed to its new high stage in January, revealing that the Labor Party leadership was losing control, and that the new united front leadership, centering around the Communist Party, was directly leading the advancing mass struggle.

At once a sharp change in the situation took place. On the one side, the Labor Party leadership was compelled to adapt itself to the rising mass struggle, adopted more "Left" language against the National Government, and proceeded to issue declarations more or less repudiating Lloyd George. On the other side, Lloyd George, recognizing with extreme agility that the task of saving capitalism would now be likely to require sterner measures than a simple collaboration with the Labor Party, whose hold on the workers could no longer be relied on, and that the decisive future issue might become *the concentration of the bourgeoisie "national" front against the mass struggle*, proceeded immediately to change his tone and turned his emphasis on to the necessity of "strong", "energetic" government, in phrases which won especially the applause of the younger Conservatives.

The opening speech of his campaign, at Bangor on January 17, revealed this sharp change, and was in considerable contrast to the original announcement in December.

The Bangor speech advocated (1) "national unity for action"; (2) "a much stronger line" in foreign policy; (3) "ruthless" use of tariffs to extract economic advantages from other countries; (4) compulsory industrial reorganization; (5) agricultural development and re-settlement; (6) a public works program; (7) utilization of "the immense opportunities offered by our colonial empire"; (8) a "Prosperity Loan" to finance the program; (9) War Cabinet principle ("I would restore the principle of the old War-Cabinet"), or Cabinet of Five with full powers.

The proposed nationalization or statification of the Bank of England disappeared into a much modified form, that "steps should be taken to bring the Bank into closer touch with the business activities of the country. The directorate of the Bank must be chosen on this basis." An explicit warning was added against the nationalization of the joint-stock banks.

The proposal for a "Left" Bloc Government also disappeared and was replaced by advocacy of "a National Government". This was made explicit by the statement of his Birmingham speech on January 26:

> "I will support a National Government as long as it grapples effectively with the national emergency."

In subsequent statements Lloyd George expressed his admiration, not only for the Roosevelt example, but also for the Hitler example, communicating an interview on these lines to the German press.

This line aroused the enthusiastic support of almost the entire bourgeoisie, and even sympathetic references of Government Ministers. Churchill, leader of the Right Conservatives, found the speech "virile and sober". Ramsay Muir, President of the National Liberal Federation, found it "a sound and bold lead". Sir Robert Horne, addressing a Galsgow Unionist meeting, declared that Lloyd George "had sensed what the nation wanted". Sir Herbert Samuel declared that all the Liberal leaders gave it a "cordial welcome". Sir Austen Chamberlain, representative of the older Conservative leaders, "welcomed the contribution" and paid tribute to Lloyd George's "indomitable courage and infinite resources". The *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express* were loud in their praise. The *Times* wrote:

> "He wants a reconstituted National Government to fight

> the next General Election, and he wants greater driving force and cohesion imparted to policy. There can be no quarrel in principle with either of these ambitions."

The fascist *Blackshirt*, in a welcoming article ("Whither Lloyd George? Will He March in the Spirit of the Modern Age"), found in his program "the first steps on the road towards fascist conclusions".

From the side of the Government, despite a critical speech by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Neville Chamberlain (who found the proposals "lacking either in novelty or precision" but promised that "they would be examined with an open mind by the Government"), moves were made for a reconstruction of the National Government to include Lloyd George. According to the governmental *Observer* (Feb. 3, 1935) "a numerical majority of Ministers are in favor of including Mr. Lloyd George if his adhesion can be obtained on tolerable terms". Some preliminary negotiations were attempted during February, but were reported to have broken down on the opposition of Lloyd George to MacDonald as Prime Minister and on the hostility between Lloyd George and Neville Chamberlain. On March 1, MacDonald directly approached Lloyd George by letter, requesting him to submit his proposals, which "will be considered immediately and carefully by the Cabinet"; Lloyd George replied that, after suitable revision, he would forward his proposals.

What, then, must be our judgement of the Lloyd George campaign and its significance, as it has so far developed?

The general situation underlying the campaign, is, as we have seen, characterized by (1) worsening of the economic situation; (2) bankruptcy and weakening of the National Government; (3) critical stage of the problems of foreign policy and of the menace of war; (4) rise of mass discontent and mass struggle, developing beyond the forms of the Labor Party; (5) general demand of the bourgeoisie for new and more active measures of policy. It is evident that high hopes are placed by the bourgeoisie on Lloyd George as the leader to give the new line needed at the present stage.

What can Lloyd George offer to meet this situation?

As we have already stated, his program still remains unpublished. From the summary indications in his speeches, especially the Bangor speech, it is possible to draw together the following basic characteristics:

First, on the political side, *intensification of the capitalist dictatorship on the war-model*—"the principle of the old War-Cabint". This is combined with the appeal to "national unity", under cover of extreme social-demagogic propaganda about the "breakdown" of the old regime, war on "Mammon", the need for "action . . . vision . . . vigor", etc.

Second, on the economic side, advance to a "forward" policy and considerable public spending program ("a few hundreds of millions"), financed by loan, on public works, roads, canals, railways, electricity, water supply, etc., absorbing a proportion of the unemployed. The rate of wages is not indicated, but the slogan "substitute wages for doles" (speech at Pwllheli on January 20) suggests the same principles as with the similar policies of Roosevelt and Hitler, to establish a low basic rate for all unemployed workers, drawn on to this work, in place of trade-union rates. (Whether this policy does not imply an extension of inflation is left undiscussed, but the attack on the gold standard is prominent.)

Third, extension of the system of State-controlled capitalism through compulsory reorganization of the basic industries, a statutory National Development Board, increasing State control of investment and credit, etc., all on the basis of the existing monopoly capitalist ownership, but with increasing use of the State machine for the benefit of the trusts, for State financial guarantees, etc.

Fourth, agricultural development—to place one million unemployed industrial workers on the land and double the proportion of home-grown food supplies. The parallel here to the Roosevelt and Hitler policies is obvious, and the war significance is of especial importance.

Fifth, "ruthless" use of tariffs to extract trade concessions, and development of the colonial empire.

Sixth, in the sphere of foreign policy "A strong policy, which means a bold, firm and decisive lead by Great Britain."

It is evident that we have here an attempt to develop the policy of the National Government to more active and aggressive forms. While the old capitalist-reconstruction program of Lloyd George and of the Liberal *Yellow Book*, and also of the Labor official program, are in part incorporated, new characteristics are markedly visible (the emphasis on a war-dictatorship, on "ruthless" use of tariffs, on intensified exploitation of the colonial empire, on "national unity", on a "strong policy", etc.). These new characteristics reveal the strong influence of the Roosevelt and Hitler models. We have here a characteristic adaptation in modified forms, partly of the Roosevelt "New Deal", and partly of a "National-Socialist" type of program, to the present stage and requirements of British imperialism.

On a first survey, the closest analogy might appear to be the Rooseveltian "New Deal" as the largely avowed model. Nevertheless, there are important differences. The core of the propaganda and professed aim of the Roosevelt program in its first period was the insistence on the necessity of raising wages, of raising working-class standards, as the condition of the solution of the crisis. This conception is completely absent from the Lloyd George program.*

Indeed, the whole social aspect, the insistence on social-reform, the formal insistence on the rights of labor organizations, all the "liberal" aspects of the Roosevelt propaganda are almost entirely absent from the Lloyd George program (save for cursory references to housing, possible raising of the school age and lowering of the pension age). On the other hand, the openly aggressive "national" chauvinist imperialist tone is far more emphasized from the outset. In many respects the influence of the Hitler type of policies may be more strongly traced (especially in the proposals to deal with the unemployed by putting them, at low rates, on public works or enforcing settlement on the land).

In this connection, it is important to note the close admiration Lloyd

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* The naivete of Lloyd George's conception and approach on this issue, and the absence of any theoretical basis, even of the type of the theorizings of the Rooseveltian Brain Trust, was strikingly illustrated in Lloyd George's answer to a questioner at one of his meetings, who asked whether the glut of commodities could be absorbed within the existing wage-system. He replied (*Times*, Jan. 21, 1935):

> "If you had a system by which everyone was put to work, and all those who were at work had a fair remuneration for their services, in wages or profits, the question of distribution would be more or less solved."

The illiterate simplicity of this "economic theory" is worthy of Hitler.

George has repeatedly expressed for the Hitler regime, of which he has consistently constituted himself the defender. This has been particularly noticeable when currents of public opinion in England have turned against Hitler-Germany. Thus, in the House of Commons debate on November 28, on German re-armament, when Churchill, Austin Chamberlain and others were delivering speeches attacking the growth of militarism in Germany as a menace to British interests, and even professing qualified approval of the Soviet Union as a bulwark of peace, Lloyd George, with a sharp eye to the basic British policy, went out of his way to counter this trend and declare:

> "In a very short time, perhaps in a year or two, the Conservative elements in this country will be looking to Germany as the bulwark against Communism in Europe. She is planted right in the center of Europe, and if her defense breaks down against the Communists—only two or three years ago a very distinguished German statesman said to me: 'I am not afraid of Nazism, but Communism'—if Germany is seized by the Communists, Europe will follow; because the Germans could make a better job of it than any other country. Do not let us be in a hurry to condemn Germany. We shall be welcoming Germany as our friend."

This is the clearest recognition of class solidarity with fascism yet made by any leading British statesman. It is of key importance, not only for clearing up the international policy of Lloyd George, but for his basic inner policy, however it is masked by "liberal" phrases.

No less worth noting in this connection is the open support of official British fascism for the Lloyd George campaign. Their general policy of denunciation of all "old gang" political leaders here receives a notable exception. The *Blackshirt* writes (Dec. 18, 1934):

> "We must remember that Mr. Lloyd George has never expressed anything but admiration for our Leader, and has never condemned the growing Fascist movement among the youth of the nation. Indeed, after Olympia, when we were faced with an almost united front of abuse and misrepresentation, it was the veteran Lloyd George who wrote a statesmanlike article of encouragement. . . .
>
> "In return let us assure him that the patriotic youth of Britain regard him with at least very different feelings to those they entertain for the elder members of the present government. They have not forgotten his services in the war, and await with interest his contribution to the common task of national reconstruction, which can only be carried through by a return to the wartime spirit of courageous effort under disciplined leadership."

In the same article the program is analyzed as representing "the first steps on the road to fascist conclusions".

These subsidiary signs, not only of the analogy in political content between the Lloyd George program and the aims of fascism, but also of the conscious positive relationship of Lloyd George to fascism and of fascism to Lloyd George, are important signposts of the deeper significance of the Lloyd George program and campaign.

The more closely the Lloyd George program and campaign is examined, the more clearly its flimsy "progressive" "Left" covering disappears and its essential character and purpose stands revealed as the expression of the next stage of fascization and war preparation in Britain.

At the same time, in view of the extreme unpopularity of the National Government and the rising mass discontent, the attempt will be made to realize this program in the first stage, either through a "Left" form, in cooperation with the Labor Party, or, if the strong hostility of the Labor rank and file makes this impossible, then through some kind of "Center" combination (the old aim of Lloyd George since the Coalition days of after the war) of a "broad progressive national front" replacing the old party forms. And if the emergency becomes strong enough, *e.g.*, direct development of open war-menace, the attempt will be made once again to draw in the Labor Party.

Will the British bourgeoisie adopt the policy proposed by Lloyd George?

Certain sections of the bourgeoisie are still hesitant, as witness the opposition of Neville Chamberlain on behalf of the Treasury and Montagu Norman. These fear to shake British credit by any large-scale spending policy on the Roosevelt-Hitler style. But as the economic situation begins to worsen, and the existing policy promises no solution of the difficulties, this opposition weakens, and the drive to a more adventurous policy becomes more and more dominant. The growing sharpness of class issues plays also into the hands of the Lloyd George line.

If the economic situation continues to worsen, if the war-menace draws closer, and if the united mass struggle extends,—and all these are characteristic of the present situation in Britain—then it is probable that the British bourgeoisie will turn to the type of program put forward by Lloyd George for salvation, and this program will represent the next stage in the advance to fascism and to war. Hence—the decisive warning for the workers stands out sharply: More than ever united working class front against the new capitalist attack preparing, of which Lloyd George, the most dangerous class enemy of the proletariat, stands out once again as the leader and driving force.

The New Program of the German "Revolutionary Socialists"

By F. DAVID

A GROUP of German Social-Democrats have published a program entitled *The Road to Socialist Germany*. The introduction to this program tells us that it was drawn up by "revolutionary socialists" who at one time belonged to the "Left" opposition of German Social-Democracy, were members of the "Socialist Labor Party", or belonged to the "Prague" Social-Democratic C.C., but who, after Hitler's advent to power, made a turn to the "Left".

The *Zeitschrift für Sozialismus*, a journal published in Prague by the emigrant C.C. of the German Social-Democratic Party, has published this program with a sharp article in reply.

Why has this document appeared just at this moment? What is going on inside German Social-Democracy, if even some members of the C.C. have decided to align themselves with those who have drawn up this new radical program?

To answer this question, we must give ourselves a clear picture of the progress of radicalization going on among the Social-Democratic masses, and form some idea of the hopes and disillusionment experienced by the C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party since it betook itself to Prague. The first document issued by the so-called Prague C.C., after the Social-Democratic Party in Germany was declared illegal, bore the loud title of *Revolution Against Hitler!* However, the last thing in the minds of Wels and Hilferding then, as now, was revolution. Six months after the Social-Democratic Party was declared illegal, in the summer of 1934, the representatives of the Prague C.C. came to an agreement with the representatives of Schleicher, Klausener and Gregor Strasser concerning support for a military dictatorship. Such a conference took place in May in Copenhagen. The well-informed *Manchester Guardian* was first to publish a report concerning certain negotiations being carried on between the Prague C.C. and influential military and civil groups in Germany. The C.C. refuted this report, but when the *Manchester Guardian* produced detailed revelations nobody dared to refute it any longer. The negotiations in Copenhagen circled around the possibility of changing the government by removing or "reforming" the Hitler government. As a concession to the Social-Democratic leaders, it was proposed to organize "neutral" trade unions instead of the present "Labor Front".

The Prague C.C., after the events of June 30, stated unequivocally in a secret letter to its instructors in Germany, that the C.C. had hopes of disagreement arising between the Army General Staff and monarchist groups on the one hand, and the National-Socialist Party on the other. They reckoned upon there being a military dictatorship of the Schleicher type instead of the fascist regime, and were prepared to participate in such a dictatorship, if only it were established:

> "Nothing", they state, "can so hasten on developments as the destruction of Hitler's influence over the masses. We must show the masses Hitler's real face, and thus *force reaction to hunt for new means with which to keep the masses on its side.*"

Monarchist and military circles, runs the letter, do not come out actively against Hitler, for they fear that Hitler would be followed by Bolshevism.

> "It is essential, therefore," they continue, "that our work should become obvious to wide circles of the population. This is necessary in order to destroy the fear of Bolshevism which still predominates, or the fear of the chaos which it is alleged must follow the fall of Hitler."

Not only did the Social-Democratic leaders believe in the rapid substitution of a military or monarchist dictatorship in place of the Hitler regime: Illusions of this kind were also to be found among the broad masses of Social-Democratic workers mainly before Hitler became appointed Reichspresident.

During the last few weeks rumors have been current about a report made to Hitler by the chief of the army authorities, General Fritsch, in which a whole series of "reforms" are alleged to have been demanded. The representative of the Prague C.C. published an article in the *Sozialdemokrat* concerning this report, which most frankly put forward the viewpoint of the C.C.:

> "Fritsch is against the totality (monopoly) of National-Socialism. He perfectly correctly admits that the present unity of the nation is deception, that in a moment of danger it will be hopeless to reckon upon the broad masses of the population. . . . Modern war is possible only as a people's war. The first thing required for the conduct of war is the industrial population. The present regime has removed itself furthest from the worker. Fascism gives rise to war, but is not in a position to wage war properly. Therefore the German supreme military command are against National-Socialism, are against the present regime."

Wels and his friends are hoping that the German bourgeoisie will sooner or later realize the impossibility of waging war while there is a working class in the rear preparing for resistance, and with the masses of the petty bourgeoisie dissatisfied and rebellious. The bourgeoisie will again remember those who played such a big part in calming down the rear during the imperialist war, will remember the leaders of Social-Democracy and the trade unions. Wels and his friends are ready again to do in the coming war what they did during the imperialist war, but they require corresponding remuneration for doing so.

> "The events which are taking place in Germany today (the fight between the Fritsch group, the Hitler-Bromberg-Reichenau group, and the Goering-Thyssen group) are of decisive importance for the further development of Germany and Europe as a whole. If the Fritsch group is victorious, then the question will be raised of the trade unions, labor service, and the sports and youth organizations; and changes will also take place in several other spheres."

Victory by the Fritsch group is, according to the Prague C.C., to be achieved not in the fight against Hitler, but together with him. The

Hitler group is said to occupy a middle position, and the article assures us that: "As for Hitler himself, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he will go over to the side of the Fritsch group." Only one thing is required of Hitler; namely, that he should agree to collaborate with Wels and Leipart, after creating the minimum of essential conditions to this end.

With the appointment of Hitler as Reichspresident, the illusions among the working masses, which were revived under the influence of Social-Democratic agitation, regarding the possibility of changes being brought about in the existing regime in Germany without revolution, were fundamentally undermined. And the Prague C.C. is more and more openly counting upon the disagreement among the leaders of the fascist dictatorship. This is the situation that has led to the new program.

It is not only among the masses of Social-Democratic workers that there is much ideological ferment, a similar process is going on among the leading workers of the Social-Democratic Party as well. The program of the "revolutionary Socialists" shows that there are not a few among the leading Social-Democratic party workers who are seeking for new paths. Among them some have become disillusioned with the theory and practice of reformism and are seeking for new paths in order to advance the struggle of the working class of Germany for its emancipation; while others are seeking for ways and means of reinstating the bankrupt and discredited Social-Democratic Party in the eyes of the masses.

We do not know what it was that subjectively guided one or other of the authors of the new program. The fact that the document has appeared, is first and foremost proof, if only indirect, of the move towards Communism that is taking place today among the working class of Germany. In reply to the program of the "revolutionary socialists", the Prague C.C. recognizes that the working masses of Germany are inclined against the Weimar democracy and in favor of proletarian dictatorship. The reply blames the authors of the program for falling victim to these moods of the working masses in the following words:

> "They [the authors of the program] are guided not by the new knowledge they have gained, but by tactical considerations. . . . It is quite obvious that they are engaged more in calculating moods than in making the question clear, they take more notice of popular slogans than of a serious investigation of the problems before them—in a word, we are up against opportunist radicalism."

The program of the "revolutionary socialists" shows, however, the process of radicalization going on not only among the masses of Social-Democratic workers, but also among the active workers for Social-Democracy.

The task facing the Communist Party is to adopt a consistent united front policy and to make use of comradely criticism in order to rally all revolutionary elements for the irreconcilable struggle against the fascist regime, on behalf of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet Power in Germany.

* * *

Two questions raised by the program of the "revolutionary socialists" will arouse the most passionate discussion in the deep underground revolutionary movement of Germany; namely the revolutionary struggle

for proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviets, and the creation of a "united revolutionary Socialist Party". On the first question we find the following in the program:

> "The conquest of political power in Germany, its maintenance and reinforcement is only possible through a severe civil war." "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the indispensable form of rule for conquering the classless, socialist society. . . . The fulfillment of this task is impossible in a short space of time; it will be essential, even after the proletariat has seized power, to wage a prolonged, severe and serious struggle, making the most decisive use of all the means of revolutionary socialist dictatorship."
>
> "The revolutionary State cannot simply take over the apparatus of the bourgeois State. . . . This apparatus must be smashed and substituted by the revolutionary State apparatus. Power must be exercised by Soviets, elected by the toiling masses, which will simultaneously be legislative and executive power."

The main line in the program on the question of State power has been taken from the Communists (criticism of bourgeois democracy, proletarian dictatorship, Soviets, the destruction of the bourgeois State apparatus and the application of force against capitalist rule). However, doubt is cast on these statements by certain circumstances of no little importance.

Those who drew up the program want, as they declare, to win and to build a Soviet republic in Germany. They set forth in detail their views on State construction and the economic policy of the future German Soviet republic. It would seem that the program should use the living example of the Soviet government, of the seventeen years' existence of the Soviet Union on every one of its points. Yet there are only a few lines in the program about the Soviet Union, and those are chiefly abusive.

Why do the authors of the program remain silent about the world historic experience of work and struggle of the Bolshevik Party, which prepared for, and organized, the victorious October Revolution? Are the experiences of the preparations for October, of the conquest of Soviet Power and of its consolidation by stubborn, consistent warfare on the part of the Bolsheviks against the bourgeoisie and Menshevism for a period of decades, not instructive as examples for the vanguard of the German proletariat?

The success of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. spells more to the heart and brain of the German worker than all the programs and manifestoes in the world. The road taken by the Russian Bolsheviks and the road pursued by German Social-Democracy are two historic examples from which the world proletariat is learning. This comparison has gone deep down into the consciousness of the working masses of Germany and the whole world. Why is it that people who have now arrived at the condemnation of the path taken by German Social-Democracy and the recognition of proletarian dictatorship maintain silence about the road taken by the Russian Bolsheviks which led to the proletarian dictatorship?

Any recognition of the need for a revolutionary struggle for proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviets, which does not contain a

clearly positive attitude to the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the Bolsheviks before and after the October Revolution, to the policy of the Soviet government which is victorious over one-sixth of the world—is so much idle talk. Of course, we cannot ignore the concrete peculiarities of the economic and cultural character of this in one country or another, but this does not in the slightest alter the fact that the working class in capitalist countries can come to power only by adopting the same kind of measures of revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviets, etc., as those used by the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

A more careful examination of the program will easily convince the reader that the fact that the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks has been ignored is far from being accidental. The absolutely correct idea that the working class can only win political power in Germany in the process of a severe civil war is twice repeated in the program. But then in the passage headed "The Only Road to Power", where a criticism is made of the line pursued by Austrian Social-Democracy before Dollfuss seized power, and where it deals with the way the Socialist Parties should carry on the struggle in the so-called democratic countries, all formulations regarding civil war have been entirely avoided. Apparently, in the opinion of the authors of the program, civil war is necessary only in countries where there is a fascist dictatorship, and in the "democratic" countries it is enough just to scare the bourgeoisie in order to get political power.

The quotations from the program, given above, on the question of State power, do not, therefore, imply that on this basic question the program has a Communist basis—no, it still remains on Social-Democratic ground. And this is the more so since a Social-Democratic Party existed in Germany, which during the period of the first round of revolutions and wars, when the radicalization of the mass of its members attained its greatest tension, declared itself in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviets. The quotations given above coincide, in the main, with the corresponding points of the Leipzig program of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, adopted in the autumn of 1920, and which read as follows:

> "The Independent Social-Democratic Party stands on the platform of the soviet system. . . . The political organization of the rule of the capitalist State must be destroyed when the proletariat seizes political power. Political workers' soviets will take its place, as the organization of the rule of the proletariat. Soviets unite the functions of legislation and administration. . . . The Independent Social-Democratic Party counterposes the proletarian organization of rule based on the political soviet system to the organization of rule of the capitalist State. It counterposes the Revolutionary Congress of Soviets to the bourgeois parliament which expresses the will of the bourgeoisie. . . . The dictatorship of the proletariat is the revolutionary means of abolishing all classes."

This program aimed at preventing the masses from passing over to Communism, and at serving as a barrier against the passage of Social-Democratic workers to the Communist Party.

The "revolutionary socialists" are repeating the demands made by the "independent socialists" as regards the program of nationalization

as well. . . . Their program of nationalization is extremely characteristic. It appears that over the course of a sufficiently indefinite period of time, "until power becomes consolidated externally and internally", 60-70 per cent of the industrial enterprises are to remain in the hands of the capitalists. According to the census of June 16, 1933, the number of persons engaged in branches of economy liable to nationalization, according to the program of the "revolutionary socialists", is as follows, in round numbers:

Branch of Economy	*Number of Workers (in thousands)*
Mining	440
Iron and metal production	230
Building materials	400
Big enterprises of the chemical industry	100
Gas, water, electricity	140
Transport	1,000
Monopolist undertakings (articles of universal consumption)	100
Banks and insurance companies	390
Wholesale trade	470
Total	3,270

This means that out of the 14,574,000 persons engaged in different branches of economy in the towns, only 3,270,000 will work in nationalized undertakings. The remaining 11 million will remain in the non-nationalized sector which includes the engineering and electro-technical industries, the production of metal articles, textile industry, etc.

What do these facts show?

The experience of the post-war years both in Germany and in several other countries has shown that groups of Social-Democrats, or even whole Social-Democratic Parties, faced with the radicalization of the working masses, have declared themselves in favor of proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet Government. Further developments have shown that the touchstone which tests these declarations is the attitude adopted towards the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the Bolshevik Party before and after the October Revolution.

On the question also of the party, the views of the "revolutionary socialists" have nothing in common with the views of Marxism-Leninism. True, these views differ from those of the Prague C.C. George Decker in the November *Zeitschrift für Sozialismus* criticizes the program of the "revolutionary socialists" because they consider that the party is not simply a collection of malcontents.

> "Many of us," he writes, "are sure that one single opinion should dominate on different questions inside one movement. They forget that National-Socialism owes its enormous success to the fact that it was able to create singleness of will and purpose without singleness of ideology, so that it was possible for a long time for different ideologies to exist inside the framework of one movement."

According to the opinion of the theoreticians of the Prague C.C., a party does not need singleness of ideology.

Unlike these viewpoints, the "revolutionary socialists" propose to create a united revolutionary Socialist Party, closely interlinked, dis-

ciplined, and led from a united center. This party must, for the time being, be an organization of "a narrow circle of well filtered cadres", which does not organize mass actions. This state of affairs should continue until the spontaneous "destruction of the mass base of fascism". Only after that will the party be transformed into a mass party, and only then should it organize daily resistance, strikes in the factories, and revolutionary action right up to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

The authors of the program write that salvation does not lie in the late members of the Communist Party joining the Social-Democratic Party and vice versa. They advocate remaining in the old parties and forming therein a "nucleus of ideological re-orientation", to create inside each party "a bridge to the groups of their adherents in the other party". We know full well about the transfer of individuals, groups and even whole organizations from Social-Democracy to the Communist Party. Of transfers in the other direction nobody has heard anything up to the present. And so, the first piece of practical advice given in the program is: Don't go over to the Communists!

The motive given for the need for forming a new party is that the Communist Party is allegedly bankrupt. How so? asks everyone who reads the program. The main assertion given in the program of the "revolutionary socialists" is their criticism of bourgeois democracy, recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, recognition of the Soviets and a criticism of reformism, *i.e.*, assertions that they have borrowed in the main (although with a number of reservations which to a considerable degree cut out their revolutionary content) from the German Communist Party, while the authors of the program assure us that the German Communist Party is bankrupt.

But the contradiction in which the authors of the program find themselves arises out of a definite conception. They criticize reformism, and its program and tactics, and have borrowed a number of program points from Communism. At the same time they not only criticize the Communist Party, but declare that "the history of the German Communist Party is the history of a political movement that developed outside the framework of the labor movement, and not inside it". The working-class movement of Germany, according to the program, consists, apparently, of Social-Democracy. At the same time the program talks about the bankruptcy of reformism in the following words:

> "From the very beginning reformism has been the false road, which led to fatal consequences. . . . Reformism did not even fight for bourgeois democracy for it feared that the masses drawn into the movement for democratic rights would overstep the aims set by the reformist leadership, and would advance to the social revolution, which reformism does not want. . . .
>
> "Economic democracy advocated by the leaders of the trade unions, had something in common with the ideology of the fascist-corporative system."

It follows from this conception that Social-Democracy, which allegedly represented the working-class movement in Germany, had been conducting a bad reformist policy, the task being to see that it conducted a good policy in the future. In actual fact this amounts to artificially separating ideology from the party that advocates it; Communism can-

not be separated from the German Communist Party, nor reformism from the Socialist Party of Germany.

What is wrong with the German Communist Party and is a new revolutionary Socialist Party necessary? The program formulates all the "mortal sins" of the Communist Party in one small section. True, these accusations are not particularly original. In its estimate of Social-Democracy "the German Communist Party adhered to the theory of social-fascism", is the reproach of the program. Does not the declaration in the program itself that "economic democracy had something in common with the ideology of the fascist-corporative system" confirm the thesis about social-fascism? Does not the whole section on the role of reformism in clearing the way for fascism, amount to an almost literal repetition of what the Communist Party of Germany has been telling the working masses hourly and daily for the last sixteen years?

One more entirely "new" argument: "The German Communist Party", states the program, "is dependent upon Moscow, which uses the Communist Parties in capitalist countries as advance-posts for their national-Bolshevik policy." Leaving aside all the talk about "national-Bolshevism" and "dependence upon Moscow" it must be stated as a point of fundamental principle that "never in the past and never in the future can the interests of the Soviet Union contradict or fail to correspond to the interests of the international working-class movement, just as the maintenance, consolidation and prosperity of the U.S.S.R.—the base of the world proletarian revolution—is the vital task facing the working class of the whole world".

Finally, the last argument, which again cannot boast of being anything exceptionally novel—is to the effect that the Communist Party is not in favor of a united working class, but splits the working-class movement. Why are the authors themselves in favor of a disciplined, firmly welded party, one built up step by step, and not in favor of a party built on the lines proposed by Decker, which would be a collection of malcontents without a united ideology? Because a party of the kind recommended by Decker cannot be victorious. For decades German Social-Democracy was united, but this did not prevent, but on the contrary helped, the betrayal of August 4, 1914. It is said that the authors of the program, while recognizing that "reformism was on the false road from the very beginning and this led to fatal consequences", do not ask themselves why German Social-Democracy took this path, or where are the roots which feed reformism, and do not want to accept the Leninist doctrine concerning the roots of reformism in imperialism.

The imperialist bourgeoisie set up a narrow group of workers in the ranks of the working class, whom they place in a more privileged position, which reconciles them to capitalism. These strata, led by considerable groups of the labor bureaucracy, play the role of agents of the bourgeoisie in the organizations of the working class. They must be removed from these organizations, in order to prevent them from seizing influence and leadership there. Before the conquest of power, the revolutionary party of the proletariat will be able only to unite the majority of the working class, for the reformist agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class split the organizations of the working class before the revolutionary elements gain decisive influence there.

The proposal to "liquidate all currents" and create a united party implies an attempt to create a third party on the lines of the "Indepen-

dent Social-Democratic Party", which led the workers who supported the "Independent Social-Democratic Party" into the Wels-Noske Party, and there pursued the policy of clearing the way for Hitler. The best elements among the "revolutionary socialists" should be perfectly clear on this point.

* * *

Thus, the "revolutionary socialists" recognize the need for a revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviets, but ignore the living experience of the Soviet Union, and are actually against the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the Bolshevik Party before and after the October Revolution; the "revolutionary socialists" criticize reformism, but at the same time attack the Communist Party of Germany, which has led and is now leading a fierce struggle against reformism. The "revolutionary socialists" criticize reformism only as a bad policy on the part of Social-Democracy (allowing, therefore, that Social-Democracy can also conduct a good policy). All this shows that the spirit of the program remains reformist, Social-Democratic.

It is enough to point further to the interpretation given by the program of imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism. By imperialism the authors of the program do not understand the epoch of monopolist capitalism. Together with Kautsky and Sternberg, they consider that imperialism is the endeavor on the part of the highly developed industrial capitalist countries to acquire and keep hold of colonial and semi-colonial countries. When characterizing the crisis of capitalism, the authors of the program forget the chief element of this crisis, namely the existence of the Soviet Union. The program makes no mention at all of the fact that the world is divided up into two systems; that capitalism has been destroyed on one-sixth part of the globe, and the importance of this circumstance for world capitalism are not mentioned at all in the program.

While the authors of the program of the "revolutionary socialists" have remained on Social-Democratic ground, yet on several questions, as we have already pointed out, the program imitates the formulations of Marxism-Leninism. Thus, for example, the program characterizes fascism as "a form of the rule of monopolist capital", considers that reformism is mainly responsible for the advent of fascism to power, and recognizes that there are fascist elements in the ideology of reformism.

On the question that now occupies the center of attention of the working masses of Germany, namely, that of the united front,—the "revolutionary socialists" adopt a position in their program which differs from that of the Prague C.C. Paul Herz, in his report on the activities of the C.C., did everything possible to warn the workers against the united front, and to this end collected all kinds of "arguments", at the same time sufficiently clearly "hinting" at the real causes of the categorical disinclination to adopt the united front, namely, that the united front with the Communists makes the united front with the Reichswehr impossible.

> "Everything", is his attitude, "that might have served to recreate our organized forces has been destroyed, and so the fear that when Hitler is overthrown the chaos of Bolshevism will follow plays a big role. . . . Joint work between the Com-

munists and Social-Democrats . . . would only complicate the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. . . ."

The program of the "revolutionary socialists" does not expect to get rid of fascist dictatorship by putting in its place a military or "reformed" dictatorship supported by Social-Democracy, and therefore ought to give unreserved support to the united front. In several places the program declares itself in favor of the united front, as follows:

> "The road to a united revolutionary Socialist Party leads through the united front of the different proletarian groups, which must be forged during the course of the struggle."

However, no practical proposals are made in the program for bringing about the united front of struggle. On the contrary, the organization of united front committees, and of joint action, is postponed until such time as the existing parties, ideologically kindred groups, are able to find a "joint ideological platform". The program makes the process of discovering and finding "a joint ideological platform" one of the conditions for creating united front bodies, and for launching the struggle in the factories. The organization of resistance and of strikes in the factories is postponed by the program until the spontaneous "destruction of the social base of fascism" takes place. This, without doubt, is the chief defect in the program.

The Communist Party of Germany sees in the program of the "revolutionary socialists" first and foremost a product of the process of the movement to the Left that is at present taking place among the mass of the Social-Democratic workers in Germany and even among the active workers for German Social-Democracy. *The Communist Party is convinced* that it will *be able* in spite of *all reservations in the program* and *other obstacles to set up a united front of struggle with the "revolutionary socialists"*, and that the joint struggle against the fascist dictatorship will once and for all smash the lack of confidence of Social-Democratic workers in the C.P.G.

By correctly operating the united front of struggle and by making use of patient, comradely criticism, the Communist Party will destroy the hopes of those who want to use the program of the "revolutionary socialists" for the purpose of throwing up a barrier to prevent the passage of the Social-Democratic masses to Communism, and will convince the best elements among the "revolutionary socialists" in the process of joint struggle of the correctness of the path of Marxism-Leninism, which has been able to win Soviet Power, and to gain world historic victories on one-sixth of the earth's surface.

The Policy and Program of Danish Social-Democracy

By D. F.

FOR over ten years, the Danish Social-Democratic leaders have been performing on the ministerial stage. Formerly they constituted only a minority in the cabinet. But for the last five years they have formed a majority in the government, and they hold almost all the chief ministerial portfolios. It would, however, be fruitless to attempt to discover the slightest improvement in the conditions of the proletariat in Denmark as the result of the long years of the ministerial activity of the Social-Democratic leaders. On the contrary, what can be seen is a serious worsening of the conditions of the toilers.

In 1934, the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark, the pride and joy of the Second International, set forth its policy in the form of a program. It would be useless to search in this program for even the slightest hint of socialism. But even bourgeois democracy is not in favor with the Danish Social-Democrats, for both the practice and "theory" of this section of the Second International are directed towards the destruction of the basic rights and liberties of the toiling people, towards the fascist development of the State.

What runs through the whole program of the Danish Social-Democrats is the cynical way in which they scorn the basic principles of the international working-class movement. In the introduction to the program we read the following:

> "The Social-Democratic Party of Denmark has always carried on a positive policy, and during the last three years of crisis has drawn consistent conclusions from the profound changes in the world situation, leaving out of account the principles that were established under altogether different conditions and circumstances.
>
> "It is, therefore, not the time to work with theories and program points, the operation of which is a thing of the indefinite future. On the contrary, the time has now come for the elaboration of a program of positive work for the immediate future, the basis for which has already been laid by the practical work we have fulfilled."

The Danish Social-Democrats have gone further in their denial of the class struggle than even Bernstein, with his thesis that "the movement is everything and the end—nothing". They are now preparing to sacrifice the working-class movement to their "positive policy".

No trace of the class struggle remains either in their theory or their practice. The unconditional defense of the domination of capital has taken the place of the class struggle of the proletariat and the aims of this struggle. Furthermore, the Danish Social-Democrats do not flinch at utilizing "ideas" filched from fascism. The leaders of this party, before whom Friedrich Adler and Vandervelde respectfully bow their heads, define the basic line of their "positive policy" in the following way:

> "The doctrine of free trade and the old liberal system are bankrupt. Attempts are being made in all countries to build a new system. The common feature for all countries *irrespective of their political conditions* is the defense of planned economy, with protection for home production and control over trade. The necessity for such an anti-capitalist development has been called forth by the world economic crisis, and it is natural that the task facing Social-Democracy is to help this development in the future, as was the case during the crisis. . . ."

The words "all countries irrespective of political conditions" have in view only capitalist countries, because this program later on indignantly repudiates the "fantastic experiments and lawless actions" being carried on, in the opinion of the Social-Democrats, in the Soviet Union.

At the same time, the Social-Democrats specially insist on the "new system" in the fascist countries. Both the economic and the political program of the Danish Social-Democrats coincides in many respects with the revised program of German fascism. The Danish Social-Democrats depict as "socialism" and "anti-capitalism" the present stage of the development of monopolist capitalism, the allocation of subsidies to capitalist factories, as well as super-protectionism with its tremendous super-profits for the capitalists, and the degradation of the peasants as the result of the subordination of the whole market to monopolist capital. The Danish Social-Democrats preach the same quack theories as the German fascists.

With a view to bringing about such "anti-capitalist development", the Social-Democratic ministers of Denmark took steps which basically amount to the following:

1. The State regulation of foreign currency prices, giving a guarantee of an absolute monopoly on the home market both to the agrarians and to the industrialists who control the manufactures of agricultural produce. The price of butter in Copenhagen is often three times in excess of export prices, as a result of these measures.

Stauning, the Social-Democratic prime minister, said in a speech at the beginning of February that:

> "We are forced to continue the policy of rising prices, even though the consumer on the home market is astonished that he has to pay more for goods than they cost abroad, and higher than the price that we sell our goods abroad."

This market monopoly and this policy of high prices carried on by the Social-Democrats, lead to an unheard of reduction of the *real* wages of the workers, even if nominal wages remain the same.

2. The reduction of the output of goods, particularly in the chief branches, namely, milk and meat products. This could only be achieved by means of the complete and final monopoly of the marketing of milk and meat products. Such an "anti-capitalist" measure is equivalent to ruin for tens of thousands of poor peasants, because their poor farms can only exist if they produce a definite amount of milk and meat products. And, in reality, the majority of the Danish peasants have already been ruined, as a result of such a reduction of output.

The monopoly of the sale of the chief agricultural products makes the Danish toiling peasants directly dependent on the big slaughterhouses and milk companies belonging to financial and agrarian capital,

directly dependent on the whims of the companies that sell their goods.

3. Large-scale subsidies for export operations. The lion's share of these subsidies goes to the big exporters, and banks.

4. Big supplementary allocations to the big bankrupt capitalist firms. The big "Landmansbanken" private bank received 150 million kron, and the biggest industrial firm in Denmark, *Burgmeister and Wein*, received a big sum, the exact amount of which is not known.

5. The taxation policy, the essence of which amounts to protecting the capitalists, and covering a considerable part of the expenditure of the State budget by indirect taxation, some of which, such as the tax on margarine, were introduced by the Social-Democratic government.

And finally,

6. Among the "anti-capitalist" measures, of course, is included the cutting down of social expenditures, especially unemployment relief (reduction of the period of payment of relief and the establishment of a longer qualification period).

The program of the Danish Social-Democratic Party makes provisions for prolonging and extending this policy. After the example of the German fascists, the Social-Democrats propose that those capitalists "who try to increase the number of employed workers by opening new factories" will receive direct subsidies from the government. Thus, the capitalist is offered a special bonus for exploiting a larger number of workers. This measure renders it possible for some capitalists to receive specially big subsidies in conditions when the market is wavering. Under the pretext of "providing productive work", it helps every bankrupt capitalist enterprise to get on to its feet again.

Further, the Social-Democratic program provides for the government allocating large subsidies for the reorganization of shipping, according to the most modern technique, after the example of other capitalist countries like Great Britain, Germany, U.S.A., etc. At the same time, this, to a certain degree, is a measure of preparation for war.

Big subsidies are contemplated for house owners, for the reconstruction of their houses, as well as subsidies for building contractors and the banks, to finance the building of new houses.

Finally, the program speaks of "rehabilitating agricultural debts". It is a noteworthy feature of this Social-Democratic demagogy borrowed from the fascists, that the program does not make any concrete proposals on this question, but merely refers to proposals made by a government commission. And none other than the representatives of the landlords, kulaks and banks sit in this commission. The first outlines of the draft produced by this commission appeared after the publication of the Social-Democratic program. They show plainly that in essence "the removal of agricultural indebtedness" means the liberation of the landlords and kulaks from debt. We cannot, in this article, try to deal with all the details of the draft of the commission of the Social-Democratic government. We merely mention that this draft deprives the broad masses of the toiling peasants of any possibility of obtaining cheap credit in the future from the government, thereby handing them over completely into the power of finance capital and the "cooperative" societies, in which the leading figures are big agrarians. Thus the plan for "liberating agriculture from debt" simply means speeding up the economic ruin of the broad masses of the toiling peasants.

Such, on the whole, are the chief features of the "positive and anti-capitalist" economic policy pursued by the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark.

In the section of the program dealing with the "socialization of banks" there is no hint of socialization. The "socialization" of banks amounts altogether, first, to the fact that the government wants to concentrate in its own hands the majority of the shares of the emission bank, giving the stockholders generous compensation in return, and, second, keeping in the hands of the State the "Landsmanbanken", which in practice already belongs to the State, which gave it a subsidy of 150 millions. We know that in some capitalist countries such as Germany, the emission banks have been State capitalist enterprises for decades. Nobody, however, has claimed that the German Reichsbank, for instance, has anything in common with socialism. Such a bank is loyal in defense of the interests of the capitalists, especially the big ones. It is only the Danish Social-Democrats, the faithful servants of their capitalists, who try to pass off such a State capitalist enterprise as socialism.

In various parts of their program, the Danish Social-Democratic leaders, in the interests of monopolist capital, describe their economic program as the "regulation and control of capitalism", but still more frequently they use the term "planned economy" to signify this capitalist society supported by government funds.

At the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets, Comrade Molotov stated the following:

> "The workers can now see that in capitalist States, whatever their system of government, from parliamentary to fascist, economic crises with all their destructive consequences are inevitable. And vice versa. The workers are now becoming convinced, not only from the theory of Marxism but from the living facts which face everybody, as to which social order liberates them from economic crises and opens up unlimited possibilities for an economic and cultural advance." (Molotov, *Report on the Work of the Government at the Seventh Congress of the Soviets of the U.S.S.R.*)

In reality, a "new system", and "planned economy" could not save a single capitalist country from the destructive blows of the crisis, and did not save Denmark. As in other capitalist countries, "planned economy" in Denmark merely led to a fall in the standard of living of the working class, to the ruin and proletarization of broad sections of the toiling peasants. Under the "new system" the power of finance capital became still stronger.

All the idle chatter about the "regulation and control of capitalism", about "planned economy" and "socialization" has the one aim of justifying the policy which undermines the foundations of bourgeois democracy in the country, the policy of crushing the class struggles of the proletariat. The leaders of the Danish Social-Democratic Party not only borrowed from fascism its social phraseology but they have put the same meaning as the German fascists into the conceptions of "socialization" and "socialism", and have gone to fascism to learn how to "unify" the workers' organizations, and how to fuse them with the capitalist State apparatus. In his speech delivered on May 9, 1934, which was a kind

of commentary on the new program of Danish Social-Democracy, the Social-Democratic premier, Stauning, stated:

> "Once the State has guaranteed certain deliveries under commercial agreements, and has undertaken to guarantee the purchase of a definite quantity of goods in other countries, we cannot allow fortuitous groups of the population the right to destroy the whole of this system that has been built up with such difficulty. The time has passed for liberalism, and we cannot any longer permit the free interplay of forces. We are living nowadays under controlled and regulated capitalism, and there cannot here be any uncontrolled freedom for other forces and tendencies.
>
> ". . . If the functions of society are socialized, as is taking place now, the trade unions must be socialized as well. Their task was always social, and this task is more clearly evident than formerly."

It is useless to enter into a discussion with the Social-Democratic premier as to the functions of trade unions. Although the Danish trade unions were under reformist leadership from the first moment that they came into being, nevertheless, the reformist leaders have hitherto not succeeded in completely eliminating the class character of the trade unions, and, most important of all, have not been able to wipe the class understanding of the functions of the trade unions out of the consciousness of the workers.

The first preparatory steps towards the unification of the trade unions were taken by the trade union bureaucrats when they permitted the violation of the rules of the trade unions in 1931 and 1932, and permitted the law prohibiting strikes, introduced in 1933. But the decisive step was the law of January 1934, the main points of which amount to the following: (1) the arbitration law is revised in the sense that now a "qualified majority" is required to reject an arbitration decision; (2) the arbitration court is given the right to put the proposals of the court to a vote in as many trades as it wishes, and then declare the arbitration decision compulsory for those who rejected it, even if the decision is rejected by a qualified majority. Directly after this law, a law was passed in 1933 giving the government the right to stop any conflict by a compulsory decision and to declare any strike illegal.

The fact that the Danish Social-Democrats are trying to prevent and to forcibly crush every strike "in the interests of society" is spoken of quite openly in an article in the central organ of the Danish Social-Democratic Party, the *Social-Demokraten*, of May 12, 1934, which declares that:

> "Strikes, and partial strikes in particular, were of great importance at a certain stage of capitalist development. But the tasks and forms of work must be different under the conditions of production that is controlled and partly managed by a Social-Democratic government. In other words, under capitalism that is in process of being abolished. This point of view is the new feature in the tactics of the trade union movement."

In February 1934, the Danish seamen struck work in protest against the new law. And though the reformist leaders of the seamen's union also participated in the strike, the Social-Democratic government used the whole force of the State apparatus to crush the strike. The strike

committee was arrested, strikebreaking detachments were organized by the authorities, the police was sent in full force against the strikers, the funds of the trade unions were tied up by special court injunctions, enormous fines were put on the executive committees of the unions, etc. Similar measures were taken during the smaller textile strike in one of the factories in Silkeborg in the summer of 1934. To these measures must be added the special commission formed by the trade union bureaucrats to combat Communism in the trade union movement, and the withdrawal of the democratic rights of the trade union members in a number of trade union branches.

The Danish Social-Democrats, however, are still not satisfied with these measures leading to fascism. They are making efforts to "strengthen the power of the State by radically changing the constitution". The essence of this change in the constitution is to give dictatorial powers to the government while formally preserving parliament and not allowing small parties to enter it. But the chief aim of all these laws is the fight against the revolutionary working class movement, against the Communist Party. Thus, the *Social-Demokraten* of January 19, 1934, openly demanded the withdrawal of the freedom of the press, for the fight against Communism. We find the following in the new program of the Social-Democratic Party:

> "The agitation and the movement proceeding from Russia are the basic prerequisite for fascism and similar tendencies. Social-Democracy is firmly determined to carry on an irreconcilable struggle against any movement that is a menace to society, and which sets itself the object of violating the peaceful development of social relations and functions."

This political program of Danish Social-Democracy is clear. It demands the violent suppression of the revolutionary working class movement, and the salvation of capitalist society by all means of violence and terror. As far as this Social-Democratic Party is concerned "democracy" is only a decoration, a screen. Danish Social-Democracy states with similar frankness that all means are good to save capitalist society, that it will not stop at the destruction of democratic rights and liberties, one after another (it is actually already destroying them), and that it is in favor of violence, but only when it is directed against the revolutionary proletariat.

It is easy to understand that the leaders of such a party, that considers the violent suppression of the Communist movement to be one of its chief tasks, refuse to enter into any united front with the Communists, and expel the members of their organizations for participating in proletarian united front actions. And in the same way, the whole line and policy of this party inevitably give rise to its irreconcilable position within the Second International against any negotiations with the Comintern or any united front agreement between the various sections of the Second International and the Sections of the Comintern.

Immediately after the appeal of the Comintern to the Second International for common actions in defense of the Spanish proletariat, the Danish Social-Democratic leaders together with the Swedish Social-Democrats began to carry on "lively" negotiations with the British Labor Party, and with the Dutch and Czechoslovak Social-Democratic parties. They wanted by their common efforts to bring about the prohibition of further negotiations and of the conclusion of an agreement for joint

action. They even threatened to split the Second International if their demands were not granted.

Resistance to the policy of their leaders is growing among the Social-Democratic workers of Denmark. In the spring of 1934 the workers forced the S.D. leaders of the Seamen's Union to declare a strike along with the Communist leaders of the Firemen's Union, although this strike was declared "illegal" by the S.D. government. Tens of thousands of workers of other trades, both Social-Democrats and Communists, displayed their sympathy with the seamen on strike by participating in joint demonstrations. In Est Irge, the second most important port in Denmark, a general protest strike nevertheless took place against the police and strikebreaking measures of the government and the trade union bureaucracy, in spite of the weakness of the Communist organization. Similar examples of joint action by Social-Democratic and Communist workers can be found in a number of smaller scale strikes, which, like the seamen's strike, were declared "illegal" by the S.D. government and sabotaged by the trade union bureaucrats.

By organizing the united front with the S.D. workers, the Communist Party of Denmark has succeeded, in the process of the struggles, in increasing its influence over the opposition that there is in the camp of the Danish S.D. workers and certain of the reformist trade unions, and in helping towards the further development of this opposition. A so-called "liberation movement" came into being in Frederitsia at a conference of representatives of a number of local organizations of the General Workers' Union (a union that includes unskilled workers of various industries, and now, agricultural laborers as well). It carries on a struggle against the violation of the rights of the unemployed, against the anti-strike laws and the destruction of democracy inside the trade unions. In the leading body of this movement, which is supported by over 100 trade union organizations, there is the closest cooperation between Communist and Social-Democratic trade union officials.

In the Young Socialist League, the opposition movement and the urge towards unity of action with the Young Communist League is still stronger, especially in the struggle against the fascist reactionary league of youth. The opposition inside the Danish Young Socialist League has a program of radical demands, issues its own paper, holds joint demonstrations with the Y.C.L. and is winning more and more influence among the young S.D. workers, in spite of persecution by the leaders, and in spite of the expulsion of oppositionists on a mass scale.

The C.P. of Denmark has already secured some successes in applying the tactics of the united front with the S.D. workers. But these successes are still very small, if we take into account the fact that the opposition of the S.D. workers to their leaders is growing day by day.

Clearly expressed sectarian views are to be met with in the C.P. of Denmark, a tremendous underestimation of the tasks facing the Party in the organization of working-class battles by means of the united front tactics. Sometimes the C.P. of Denmark succeeds in calling forth militant action by the workers as a result of its agitation and propaganda, but it does not yet sufficiently understand how to develop the movement, to create the organizational forms of the united front and thus to extend the struggle. The "liberation movement" shows that the broad masses of the S.D. workers are ready to cooperate with the Communist workers. The task facing the C.P. of Denmark is to develop this united front of

all the workers in defense of their rights, and to repel the attacks made on the standard of living of the unemployed and the employed workers. In the recent period there is to be noted a serious weakening of the trade union work of the Communists. This is an alarming signal for the Party leaders and for the whole Party. The main cause for this weakening must be sought in the absence of flexibility in the methods of trade union work, in the absence of the line which aims at utilizing the wide opposition among the S.D. workers, and in the inability of the Danish Communists to establish a united front with the S.D. workers in the process of this work in the trade unions.

During the last few months, the economic situation has grown much worse in Denmark, unemployment having very much increased, and continuing to do so. The capitalists do not see any other way out except by further worsening the conditions of the working class. The new "Program for Providing Work" proposed by Steinek, the S.D. minister of social welfare, which has in view the short time, and forced labor for the unemployed at wages lower than unemployment relief, are equivalent to an attack on the whole working class. The C.P. of Denmark must lead the movement against this new drive of the capitalists, and above all against the plans of the government. In conditions when indignation among the workers is growing from day to day, the Communist Party will be able to raise this movement to the level of mighty struggles conducted by the working class if it determinedly conducts a struggle against sectarianism in its own ranks, and boldly takes a line for unity of action with the Social-Democratic workers.

How We Carried Out the Decision of the 1930 C. I. Resolution on the Negro Question in the U. S.

By B. D. AMIS

THE resolution of the Communist International on the Negro question in 1930 gave additional clarity to the American Party as to the work to be done in order to win an important ally to the American proletariat. This resolution is of tremendous importance to the American labor movement as well as to the international working class movement. It is a clear application of Lenin's teachings on the national question. It clearly defined the role of the Party in the struggle for equal rights of the Negro toilers and the right of the Negroes in the Black Belt to self-determination. Among the important tasks elaborated upon are the following:

> "The struggle for the abolishment of all forms of economic and political oppression of the Negroes, as well as against their social exclusion. . . .
>
> "A relentless struggle in practice against all manifestations of Negrophobia. . . .
>
> "Energetic recruiting of the Negroes into the T.U.U.L. and revolutionary trade unions. . . .
>
> "Struggle for the right of self-determination in the Black Belt. . . ."

These four basic points were further concretized in the Fourteenth Plenum Resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., in April, 1932. The attention of the whole Party is sharply called to:

(a) A popularization of the full Communist program on the Negro question in connection with the partial struggles on every-day demands and events, which must be intensified.

(b) Thorough popularization of the solution of the national question in the U.S.S.R., socialist construction in the autonomous Soviet Republics, mobilizing the broad Negro masses for the defense of the Soviet Union.

(c) Broadening the recruiting of Negro workers into the Party and trade unions, making the trade union movement real channels of Negro work.

(d) A broad campaign within the Party, as well as in the mass organizations, against white chauvinism and all forms of Jim-Crow practices, ruthlessly exterminating within the Party, not only the open, but also the half-hidden and conciliatory forms.

(e) Carrying out some concrete measures guaranteeing the next period for a real beginning of penetrating the Black Belt, building the Party and mass organizations (first of all, trade unions) for work among the Negroes in the Black Belt.

The Negro masses are an important ally of the American proletariat. *The struggle of the Negro masses for national emancipation is a direct blow against the ruling class and is indubitably bound up with the proletarian class struggle.* Lenin has clearly formulated for us the direct connection between the proletarian struggle and the national liberation movement. The peculiar oppression of the Negroes (social antagonisms, remnants of slavery) makes it imperative that the struggle for partial demands (equal pay, against wage cuts, for unemployment insurance, adequate relief, etc.), and for equal rights (the abolishment of all forms of economic and political oppression, social exclusion, insults and segregation) must be widely developed to correspond to the basic revolutionary demands (confiscation of the big landed estates, establishment of State unity in the Black Belt, and the right of self-determination). These demands must be brought forward in a popular manner to the white workers and especially among broad strata of the Negro people. When sufficiently popularized to the Negro masses the slogans around these demands become the fighting demands of broad masses of Negroes in bitter struggle against the imperialist oppressors of the American workers and toilers.

Let us examine how well the Party has been able to organize the resistance and indignation of the Negro masses against the profound effects of the economic crisis, the growing reaction of the bourgeoisie, accompanied by a new unparalleled torrent of lynchings.

In the 1930 resolution of the C.I. on the Negro question, it is stated:

> "The Communist Party of the United States has always acted openly and energetically against Negro oppression, and has thereby won increasing sympathy among the Negro population. In its own ranks, too, the Party has relentlessly fought the slightest evidences of white chauvinism and has purged itself of the gross opportunism of the Lovestoneites."

Since the above was written, the Party has reached varying successes on the two fronts of work. Beginning with the Yokinen trial of white chauvinism, theoretical clarification has been further extended and there have been some very serious, practical measures taken to apply in life the correct political line. The Yokinen trial demonstrated the stubborn determination of the Party to burn out of its ranks the influence of bourgeois ideas on the Negro question, and particularly the open and concealed forms of white chauvinism. Through this act, the Party was brought boldly before the Negro masses as the only organization leading a real struggle for equal rights of the Negro toilers, to smash the barriers of segregation and Jim-Crowism, to expose the hypocritical "friends of the Negroes", and to struggle against all expressions of Negrophobia. The influence of the Party was more firmly established. A powerful challenge to struggle for equality and emancipation of an oppressed nation was hurled into the face of the bourgeois imperialists and their agents.

The Party took practical steps to develop an international struggle around the Scottsboro case. The four years of bitter struggle in this outstanding case of national oppression have clearly demonstrated the correctness of the line of the Party.

The Camp Hill and Tuscaloosa struggles of the sharecroppers threw momentary alarm into the slave-driving landlords. The heroic struggles of the unemployed (Chicago, Cleveland, etc.), and the participation of

Negro workers in strikes (mining, steel, food, needle), led by the revolutionary trade unions, won greater sympathy for the Party, as well as strengthened the unity of Negro and white workers.

The Party has established organizations in the South. The creation of a sharecroppers' union of several thousand is an advance in the building of organizations of struggle in the Black Belt. Although our Southern organizations are weak, they are, nevertheless, becoming a more known force to the Southern Negro toilers and white workers.

The struggle against national oppression and its counterpart, lynching, produced courageous actions in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Ohio, Minnesota and many other places. These struggles increased the influence of the Party considerably, and also gave to the Party Negro comrades who are daily proving their devotion to the class struggle and to the Negro liberation movement. There has been a steady promotion of these new cadres in the Central and District leadership.

For the third time within the two-year period, 1930-1932, the white ruling class received a terrific shock when the Party chose a Negro comrade, James W. Ford, for the Vice-Presidential candidate, the running mate to William Z. Foster. This was an historic event, an action never known to American history. It was not a sensational vote-catching scheme, but a significant task to "clearly and forcibly bring forth the fundamental position of the Communist Party, and those workers who support the Communist Party, on the Negro question" (Nominating Speech of Clarence Hathaway).

The 1930 Convention of the American Negro Labor Congress in St. Louis, at which time the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was formed, the republishing of the *Liberator*, drawing into this work Negro and white comrades, the editing of the *Southern Worker*, the All-Southern Scottsboro Conference in Chattanooga, were steps which started to open up a vast field for work. The "Free the Scottsboro Boys" March to Washington, D. C., set in motion new masses of Negro and white toilers under our leadership which before had remained passive or under the influence of the reformists. All of these events, plus the theoretical clarity expressed not only in resolutions but also in a number of articles written by leading white and Negro comrades, sharpened the struggle for Negro rights, added to the prestige of the Party and increased the quantity and quality of work.

At the same time, the Party is training Negro workers to develop the hegemony of the proletariat in the national revolutionary movement and for general Party work. These advances, although insufficient in themselves, prove the tremendous power of our program and the ability of our Party to carry into life the Leninist program for solution of the national question.

METHODS OF WORK AND THE UNITED FRONT TACTIC

While intensifying the struggle against white chauvinism, the Party brought more clarity into the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and expressions of these tendencies revealed in some Negro comrades. These manifestations (in a few Negro comrades) appeared because of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence and unclarity on the Leninist methods of solution of the national question. These comrades, seeing mainly the fast Leftward movement of the Negro masses on the one hand, and the

slowness of the Party in more quickly organizing the movement on the other hand, expressed tendencies of distrust in the application of the line of the Party. Such tendencies are a hindrance to developing Bolshevik fire and decisiveness to burn out of our ranks the main danger—white chauvinism.

As the forces of revolution rally the masses to struggle against imperialist oppression, the forces of counter-revolution employ every conceivable method, ofttimes the most subtle measures to turn the tide in their direction. Because of the sharpening class struggle some of these bourgeois ideas, in one form or another, have crept into the Party. But a strict application of the Leninist line has defeated at every turn every expression of this alien ideology.

The struggle against Negro bourgeois nationalism is becoming more complicated as the class differentiations among the Negroes develop. During the Scottsboro campaign these class differences have become more pronounced. The national reformist leaders in the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League and the Garvey type have increased their activities. Against these people and their ideology the Party has the task especially to prepare Negro comrades to become the main forces to lead the attack and exposure of this ruinous ideology. Fully equipped with Leninist theory a successful struggle can be waged on this front.

Among the outstanding actions led by the Party in the fight against the daily persecutions of the Negroes, and linking up the struggles for the partial needs to their basic revolutionary demands, is the Scottsboro campaign. The Scottsboro trials typify the iron yoke of oppression and the long years of subjection and humiliation of the Negro nation. This campaign demonstrated the growing unity of the Negroes and white workers, and an awakening that is taking place among sections of the advanced white workers and of their duty to march "at the head of this struggle". It was the source of a broadening movement against the denial of democratic rights (right to sit on the jury in the South, etc.). Also, this act of national oppression gave the opportunity to apply Bolshevik methods to work, to combine the legal struggles with the extra-legal actions, as well as to test the ability of the Communists to build up a united front from below, exposing the betrayers, national reformist and white liberal "friends of the Negroes". The Communist Party came out as the only political body fighting for the daily interests and ultimate demands of the Negroes. We correctly issued the united front call to the Negro people, white workers and all who are sincerely opposed to Negro persecution to join with us on the single issue, to save the lives and liberty of the Scottsboro boys. In the application of the slogan, much opportunism sprang up.

Chief among these errors were: a narrow sectarian limitation of the struggle, that is, a failure to link up consistently the struggle for the special every-day needs of the Negro masses, with the struggle to save the boys, thereby drawing in larger masses, and a failure better to politicalize the struggle, to raise it to higher levels by bringing in the basic revolutionary demands. In this mass movement the Negro people, in numerous demonstrations, meetings, conferences and marches with white workers, have shown their indignation. This deep ferment broke out among the sharecroppers in Camp Hill and Tuscaloosa against present-day slavery conditions. Spontaneous outbursts in the cities, the developing upsurge among the sharecroppers, agricultural laborers and

poor farmers showed the growing elements of a national revolutionary movement. For the first time the Negro proletariat and the semi-proletariat in the town and country, the agrarians, began to enter the arena of political struggles under proletarian revolutionary leadership.

But our Party was not able sufficiently to organize this mass resentment and develop the movement into a stubborn, broad, mass movement of all toilers against national oppression. This act had stirred larger masses of Negroes than any other in the recent period. Lenin stated on the national question: "Every act of national oppression calls forth resistance on the part of the masses of the population, and the tendency of every act of resistance on the part of the oppressed peoples is the national uprising". Our failure to carry this Leninist concept into life hindered the mass movement from developing into higher forms of struggle.

Closely connected with this weakness was the failure to utilize organizationally the mass resentment of the Negroes in the Black Belt. Few white Southern workers were drawn in to support the struggle and build up solidarity. Joint struggles of black and white workers, although difficult to organize, did not take on the form that would cause the Southern landlords and capitalists to tremble before the united mass power of the enraged Negro people and white workers.

In the beginning of the united front, insufficient differentiation was made between the Negro reformists and the Negro masses. There was a tendency to lump them together, to receive the misleaders with open arms, refraining from criticizing their traitorous policy and tactics. The role of Negro reformism and its alliance with the imperialist oppressors were greatly underestimated. The difference between the national revolutionary tendencies among the Negro masses against the white ruling class, as against the inherent class collaborating policies of the Negro reformists with the white bourgeoisie, was not made clear. Thus we fell into the error of a feeble exposure of the "Left" demagogic maneuvers of the "Left" reformists of the type of Pickens, allowing them to spread poisonous venom among the Negro masses.

The legal aspect of the case is of great importance, insofar as it is connected with the mass actions. Our revolutionary methods of struggle are distinct from the sole parliamentary methods of the reformists, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Deep parliamentary illusions of long practice among the Negroes had to be exposed, as to the futility of this only form of struggle. But it can be stated openly that *the weakest link in the movement is precisely our inability consistently to carry on mass actions, raising each succeeding one to a higher level, in conjunction with the court proceedings.* Oft-times, we found ourselves lagging at the tail of the spontaneous movement (Harlem unorganized demonstration, after the reversal of the Patterson death decision) and the Negro reformists. The development of powerful mass actions did not always proceed alongside of the legal struggle. Frequent ebbs in the campaigns not only proved a hindrance to deepening and widening the struggle, but left open the door to the misleaders and the betrayers to facilitate the carrying through of the plan of the landlord lynchers.

Consequently, Leibowitz, a politician and a careerist, together with the most reactionary Negro reformists took advantage of this weak link, confusing the masses as to the role of *the mass organization,* the I.L.D. This creates a very serious danger: (1) that the deep-rooted legalistic

illusions among the Negro masses will be strengthened; (2) that Leibowitz will become a national hero of the Negro people, thus laying the base for a political trap to catch Negro votes for the Democratic machine and turn their revolutionary indignation into harmless channels; (3) that the absence of genuine revolutionary vigilance and mass actions will give the bourgeoisie the opportunity to seize the occasion as the time to carry through their bloody plans. To allow this to happen will be tantamount to building up a wall between us and the Negro people. It is running away from the struggle and retards the progress of the national revolutionary struggle for liberation of the Negroes.

An inexcusable blunder occurred in the course of building up united front actions in Harlem (Father Divine's religious followers). A comrade (see *Daily Worker*, April 9, 1935, article on Harlem by O. Johnson), in a most careless manner branded this preacher without concrete evidence as a racketeer, classifying him with gangster racketeers, ignoring a more tactful approach to this person who has under his influence thousands of sincere Negroes who are seeking a way out and who have demonstrated with us against war and fascism. Such a blunder drives a wedge between us and the masses and confuses our theoretical program because of bad practice. Before we can sufficiently enlighten his followers of the futility of religious ideology and of the correctness of our program and the need for a united struggle against worsening conditions, they are driven away from us. This is not convincing the masses. It is name calling. Through organized educational scientific anti-religious propaganda we seek to rid the masses of their religious prejudices. We must carefully avoid any offense that will strengthen religious fanaticism. (See *The Communist*, April, 1935, "Religion and Communism" by Earl Browder.)

These mistakes in the united front tactic appeared in enlarged forms in other cases (Herndon, Lee, Armwood, Camp Hill and Tuscaloosa) where the struggle, as far as the united front is concerned, assumed more of the character of a protest (letters from delegations) campaign from the North, and mainly a legal battle in the South. No doubt, a most difficult task in this work was to extend the united front. In the All-Southern Conference in Chattanooga and in many local conferences (Baltimore, Chicago, New York, etc.), the Communist workers have penetrated into new organizations, have brought new workers under our influence to accept revolutionary methods of struggle, and in general have made inroads among the Negro masses that at times seriously threatened the reformist leadership of some organizations. *But the most important day-to-day work down below, visiting contacts, further explaining our policy and tactics, and creating out of these new conditions, live factors which help to determine the course of events, for participation in the struggle was lacking.* Only in a few places did we build a permanent foundation among the masses, making it highly difficult for the false leaders to use the indignation of the masses in the interests of American capitalism.

At the same time the Scottsboro case and its significance to an aroused Negro people threw consternation among the reformists.

ROLE OF BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

The Negro reformists have established a base for themselves upon the suffering and humiliation of the Negro masses.

Utilizing this untold misery to further their selfish purposes to attain a few privileges as a reward for muzzling the Negro liberation movement, they have been able to establish, with the help of white liberals, through deception, maneuvering and petty politics, a considerable influence among the Negro people. Through their organizations, the press, the churches, they have heaped their venom upon the masses, using these and other mediums as centers of propaganda. The character of this propaganda is to strengthen the parliamentary illusions, to turn indignation into harmless channels, and to strengthen the insecure position of the reformists, thereby lending a hand to prop up tottering capitalism.

The leaders of N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, the Garvey movement, the politicians, the preachers, have under their influence thousands of Negroes. The press (among them the Chicago *Defender*, the Pittsburgh *Courier, Afro-American, Amsterdam News, Atlanta World*, etc.), is read by millions of Negro toilers. This press is not only the mouthpiece of many of the national reformist organizations, but is generally depended upon to give that policy which is agreed to by the white "friends of the Negro people", in collaboration with the reformist Negro leaders.

The segregation areas in the metropolitan centers are the prey of the politicians (black and white) and the source of blood money gotten through extra-high rents, added prices of foodstuffs and through other means of robbery. The segregated areas and the system of Jim-Crowism are the sources of a special form of national and social oppression. "The origin of all of this is not difficult to find: this Yankee arrogance towards the Negro stinks of the disgusting atmosphere of the old slave market. This is downright robbery and slave-whipping barbarism at the peak of capitalist 'culture'." (C.I. Resolution, October, 1930.) Out of the segregated and Jim-Crow areas has grown a small Negro capitalist class.

The ranks of the few small capitalists have been thinned by the crisis. Negro banks and insurance companies have crashed, as well as have other small enterprises. At the same time, the white imperialist masters, due to their own crisis, have demanded more from their Negro servants in crushing with greater speed and greater demagogy the rising upsurge among the Negro people.

The broadening influence of the Party, with its program for national emancipation of the Negroes, has helped to make the shaky position of the reformists and small capitalists far more unstable. Consequently, there developed out of this situation of growing crisis within the camp of the reformists two definite currents, *i.e.*, (a) a camp which apparently moved Leftward; (b) another which resorted to a more open reactionary policy. In between these two camps were the "centrists", whose role was less effective, due to their minority and vacillating position. Their spheres of influence are limited and their policies are determined by the politicians and landlord capitalists whom they thank for their existence.

The sweeping effects of the crisis, the tightening of the yoke of oppression upon the toilers, the growing reaction of the bourgeoisie and especially the intensified lynch drive against the Negro people, have created wide discontent among broad masses of Negroes. The bourgeois imperialists have great need for their lackeys, the Negro reformists, to give assistance in attempts to quell this growing upsurge.

As the mass movement developed, gathering momentum among the toilers, black and white, the Negro reformists were forced to state their position. Fearing the wrath and the indignation of the aroused masses,

and threatened with the loss of their leadership, these reformists made demagogic maneuvers in face of the mass demands.

The character of these maneuvers was in pretending to join the united front with Party and other revolutionary organizations, to "catching" up to the tail of the mass movement, pretending to lead it, in order to stop it. For example, the *Amsterdam News* and a few "leaders" who sensed the mood of the masses and their demands for a march to Washington, D. C., to present a bill of rights and to demand the release of the nine Scottsboro boys, attempted to lead the march into avenues away from genuine struggle. The alertness of the Communist workers thwarted these treacherous actions.

But oft-times these maneuvers, cloaked with "Left" phrases, caught us unawares. An expression of the wrong policy is the headline in the *Daily Worker* of April 15, 1933, "Labor Defense Welcomes N.A.A.C.P. Offer to Aid Scottsboro Boys' Fight". The chief error here is that after the N.A.A.C.P. had conducted a most shameful and slanderous attack upon the real defenders of the boys, after cooperating with the lynch courts in hiring the K.K.K. lawyer to represent them at their first session, after using every foul means and treacherous acts to take the case away from the I.L.D., the *Daily Worker*, in this headline, brushes aside in one sweep all of the fundamental points at issue and gives the implication that there is a basic change in the policy of these reformists.

The appeal of the Party and the revolutionary organizations over the heads of the leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. to their rank-and-file followers, and the acceptance by a number of the latter to join the struggle, was the determining factor in causing this action of the leaders. The wrong policy tended to strengthen the weakening position and influence of the Negro reformists over the masses, bolstered up the waning illusions of the Negro people in the reformist methods of leadership, instead of driving a deeper wedge between them and the rank and file, thereby drawing the latter closer to us. Our comrades did not fully understand the tactics of the reformists. In order to betray the mass movement, arousing less suspicion from the masses, these traitors, who form the chief barrier to victory to save the boys, quickly decided to get into the movement again. The source of this error of our comrades may be linked with a letter in which it is stated that they (our comrades) "greeted" the N.A.A.C.P. leaders for "their changed attitude" and for their "effective defense" in the Crawford case (Crawford was a Negro worker wanted on a frame-up charge in the Virginia courts, from which he had escaped to the North. He was later returned to Virginia and given a life sentence, although maintaining his innocence.)

To enter into a united front with these "leaders", and to fail to show to the masses every false action of theirs that leads to the defeat of the mass movement, is the worst kind of opportunism. It is giving them an additional weapon to use against the mass movement.

Slavishly cringing to the demands of the imperialist masters, the N.A.A.C.P., Tuskegee Institute officialdom, the Pittsburgh *Courier* and individuals of the type of Kelly Miller, employed every conceivable foul tactic to sabotage, not only the struggle to free the boys, but the developing Negro liberation movement. The N.A.A.C.P. in its organ, *The Crisis*, writes: "When we hear that eight colored men have raped two white girls in Alabama, we are not the first in the field to defend them. If they were guilty and had a fair trial, the case is none of our business". Again, an

official, W. Pickens, of the same organization, at a crucial moment in the developing mass movement, pleaded in a procovative speech in Chattanooga, to the Southern lynchers to take action against the rising upsurge and its leader, the Communist Party.

The Tuskegee Institute officials readily called the official Alabama lynch leaders, the police, to finish the murder of a Negro worker who had been set upon by the hounds of reaction at a meeting of the sharecroppers, protesting against brutalities.

The Pittsburgh *Courier* announced to the world that the boys were "rapists", thus encouraging the attempted lynching. The lynchers were upheld, the indignation of the Negro people was condemned, and the Party was slandered and accused of "certainly menacing good race relations".

Undoubtedly, superceding these attacks upon the Partry, is the infamous Negro, Kelly Miller, a type of Hamilton Fish and "Red-baiter". He is the supreme aper of his white master propagandists. In the most disgusting servile manner, he admonishes the Negroes to submit to persecutions, lynching and every evil born in the womb of brutal American imperialism. This agent of American imperialism writes: "All that the Negro has or may hope to have in this land grows out of his loyalty to this country's ideals—because he loves what it loves, and hates what it hates". Further, he states: "The remedy for the just grievances of the Negroes lies in the observance of the Constitution, not in its destruction. . . . In his present state of helplessness he cannot match wrong with revenge or overcome evil by reprisal".

These tendencies among the Negro agents of American imperialism are further expressed in an article in the New York *News* and *Harlem Home Journal*, which calls for a "leader" for the Negro people. This plea states: "Colored America needs nothing so much at this time as a Mahatma Gandhi". But why do they take Gandhi, the Indian national reformist agent of British imperialism, for their model? Because he has set the example for the reformists the world over of how to betray the struggles of the oppressed peoples; he is giving faithful service to British imperialism which is attempting to drown in blood the liberation struggles of the Indian people.

Faced with an upsurge among the Negro people who are demanding jobs and bread, ex-Congressman DePriest, Negro millionaire, opened a tirade against the foreign-born workers. This misleader of the Negro masses supports legislation against the foreign-born and the attacks and proposals of the Fish Committee against militant labor. He has repeatedly stated that the foreign workers are depriving the Negro workers of jobs and bread. This demagogy had a two-fold purpose: (1) to conceal the opposition of DePriest to a "relief" bill before Congress; (2) to turn the anger of the Negro masses away from the real enemy, the cause of their impoverishment, and toward their class brothers.

The campaign of the Party to expose the "New Deal" and its N.R.A. codes has been systematic and continuous, but not without weaknesses. The Negro people are the worst sufferers under the "New Deal".

True to their class relations, the bourgeois reformists have supported the N.R.A. Here and there, half-heartedly pointing out violations and discriminations of the Act, they have justified these practices because "we believe in the President's program. If honestly carried out, it will pro-

duce in this country a growth of prosperity that will be effective in application to all citizens alike".

Just as the Socialist Party leaders have hailed the N.R.A. as "state capitalism, a step toward socialism", so have the bourgeois Negro reformists accepted it as an act of the "Almighty" which, if given a "fair" chance, will "cure many evils".

In this connection, it is important to note that the Socialist Party is giving whole-hearted support to the Negro reformist activities. The toothless "anti-lynching" bill presented to Congress has grouped around itself such organizations as the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League and the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party vies with the national reformist organizations in their attack against the Party, upholding the lynch verdicts of the Southern courts, calling for reliance on the organs of class oppression and assailing the Communist tactics as responsible for the "action of the Alabama Supreme Court in confirming the conviction of the Scottsboro boys". (*New Leader*, April, 1932.)

Generally, the Party has conducted a systematic exposure of these slimy people. But, in the face of such betrayals, we did not always penetrate deeply among the masses. The exposures remained too much at the top. Secondly, we are still in the process of training our lower cadres in the Bolshevik methods of unmasking and isolating such enemies. Thirdly, not enough has been written in popular pamphlets and newspaper form to enlighten the toilers of the source of national reformism, its subserviency to the bourgeois imperialists, where it leads to, and how to fight against it. Weaknesses in building a united front, the failure quickly to feel the moods of the masses, and, according to the given situation, throw our machinery into motion, becoming the conscious day-to-day fighters for their everyday needs, and insufficient understanding by the body of the Party of the class relations of the Negro reformists, constitute other serious obstacles.

The May resolution of the Political Bureau on the Scottsboro struggle, pointing out the line of struggle against the bourgeois-nationalists and social-reformists, states:

> "The main battles to protect the lives of the nine innocent Negro boys, the lives and interests of Alabama sharecroppers and the interests of the unemployed in centers of Negro population, are necessarily fought in the first place against this corrupt group of leaders; it is necessary to set in motion masses of Negroes which, traditionally under their influence, are held chained by them to support the system of imperialist oppression. Any judgment of success in these campaigns, therefore, must center around questions of winning the masses to action against the opposition of these forces, and *in action* (while conducting an ideological struggle) winning these masses for their influence."

To speak of struggling against the Socialist Party leadership and the Negro reformists without the mass support of the white and Negro toilers to support the struggle, and without properly showing the relations between the two and the road they lead to, is an empty phrase.

Insufficient work has been done to expose the Negro reformists in their support of the "New Deal". Aside from the fact that very little has been written on the subject, our speeches, in the main, did not convincingly underscore this important point. The result is that the whole fight

against the "New Deal" is considerably weakened, and the Negro reformists, with little interruptions, continue to spread their doctrine of "faith, hope and charity", making more difficult the struggle to build up the broadest united front against the "New Deal".

IV. THE STRUGGLE TO WIN THE MASSES

Our organizational weaknesses can be seen in the present strength of the *Liberator* and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Both remain weak organizations, with little mass base and mass influence among the Negro people, in spite of decisions as far back as 1928, to transform these national liberation weapons into popular organs with a mass base among the Negro toilers, and particularly in the South. They do not reflect the life and daily struggles of the Negro masses. Confusion as to the role of the L.S.N.R., and liquidatory tendencies among some Negro comrades (both are now corrected) did for a time seriously retard any growth in the two institutions. They are too much patterned after the Party and the *Daily Worker*. In districts where the Party has led mass struggles for Negro rights, the two organs have not been built. There remains unclarity of the special role they can serve among the Negroes. They must give an answer to every important statement in a clear, concise manner, and expose every move of the Negro reformists and their press, at the same time putting forward convincing concrete proposals that will win the support of the masses.

Recruiting into the Party and other mass organizations (excluding, to a degree, the I.L.D.) has not been systematically planned. In fact, the gap between our ideological influence and our consolidated strength is closing altogether too slowly. The weaknesses in this field reflect in exaggerated forms the whole weaknesses of the Party, especially to root itself among the basic proletarian workers, to concentrate on decisive sections. In the South, where the mass indignation of the Negroes reached its highest expression of resistance, the Party made gains in no commensurate with the undercurrent of deep ferment. The quickest way to overcome this situation is the live application of our political program for Negro liberation in the daily economic struggles, *seizing each action which arouses the Negro people, raising the struggle around the action to a higher political level.* This means to inject at every opportunity our program for national emancipation, a systematic linking up of the revolutionary slogans with the partial demands, and to popularize intelligently the solution of the national question in the Soviet Union. Our perspective can be none other than to develop a broad movement of all toilers.

In the unemployed field, of struggle against the discrimination in giving relief to Negro workers and against evictions, we registered some very good actions. But the temporary gains (Chicago, Cleveland, etc.) suffered because of a light attitude to the follow-up of the good beginnings and hidden tendencies of satisfaction with small victories. The response of the Negro unemployed to the first and second national hunger marches, to the numerous state marches, and to local demonstrations, their participation in the general class fights, their endurance and application of discipline, and their desire to unite with the white proletariat in struggle, prove the tremendous reservoir of revolutionary force with which the white proletariat must cement an alliance in the struggle for unemployment insurance and immediate relief.

The increasing desire of the workers for trade union organization and the work of the T.U.U.L. in influencing this sentiment, especially on the Negro field, has caused the A. F. of L. officialdom to consider trade union work among certain sections of the Negro workers. However, we have not taken up sufficiently the leadership to establish a broad sentiment inside the A. F. of L. unions for the general admission of Negro workers into all unions and to fight for their rights. Nor have our unions become the broad economic struggle organizations embracing important sections of the Negro proletariat. The A. F. of L. has practically kept its doors closed to organizing the Negroes except into a few Jim-Crow locals. In mining, auto and steel, a very small minority of Negro workers have membership in locals together with white workers. This leaves a fertile field. But every weakness of the Party, every Right opportunist deviation, expressed in the trade union work, is multiplied in the trade union work among the Negroes. Only recently is there a small sign of the beginning of overcoming this opportunist underestimation. The underestimation of this work can be seen in the failure of our unions and comrades to bring forward consistently the special demands for the Negroes, to carry on a fight for the realization of these demands; to mobilize the membership of the unions to lead such a struggle against all forms of segregation and discrimination on and off the job; to beat back the carriers of the ideology of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats among the white workers, and to wage continuously an enlightenment campaign on the Negro question inside the union as well as outside.

It should not be necessary to emphasize that the Communist leaders in the unions should be the first to lead in clarifying all these questions through articles, discussion talks, unmasking every idea that is alien to the interests of the working class, and by concrete examples explaining the purpose of this ruinous ideology which constitutes a block to building mass fighting unions and divides the workers into different camps.

Under the cloak of keeping the workers solid under our leadership to win their main demands from the boss and not to unfold too much of our program at once, some union leaders in the coal strike of 1931, in the Warren steel strike, and in strikes of needle trades workers, have capitulated to the more backward expression of the workers in failing at the beginning of the struggle (although this work should be done just as thoroughly when there are no strikes) to include special demands for Negroes, special leaflets, special meetings explaining the position of the union toward the Negro workers, etc. Leaflets have been printed which did not include special demands for Negro workers. In the Warren strike it required convincing arguments before the union leaders in the strike committee raised the questions of including special demands for Negro workers. The argument against this question was that there are only a very small number of Negro workers in the plant.

In certain needle trades shops controlled by our Union, it is permitted to allow the jobber to underpay Negro workers. Knowing this to be a fact, and that our union was slow in taking up the fight against such gross discrimination, one of the union leaders, when asked how is the union struggling for equal rights of the Negroes made the statement: "There is no discrimination against Negro workers in the shops under our control".

Many Negro miners took an active part in the coal strike. Some of

these workers were placed on responsible committees of the union. Surely, this was a demonstrative act, showing in real life the basic difference between our T.U.U.L. and its revolutionary unions and those of the reformists. But consistent day-to-day guidance and help were not given to these newly-won fighters. They were not drawn into the real life of the union, they were left alone, so to speak. The weakness here is not confined solely to a policy of isolation, but a failure to convince the workers of the fundamental difference between the revolutionary union and the union of the Lewis machine. His class consciousness was not deepened; he did not feel the close ties that should interlock his interests with the activities of the union. The Party fraction in the union was not a vigilant committee, watching the interest and development of the worker, giving him the necessary help.

In the needle trades union, the errors in the Negro work can be attributed to great unclarity on the national question and the deep-rooted hangovers of past traditions of labor bureaucracy. This condition has led to open acts of white chauvinism. In the attempt to cover up this wrong line and lack of energetic work, some of the union leaders used as an excuse the shortcomings of a Negro comrade organizer who, though sincere, was very confused and weak on the Negro question. Consequently, it was not until the Party, in a series of meetings, with the fraction, explained and clarified the line, and sharply criticized the comrade, that the situation began to change.

The deepening interest of the Negro workers in the policies of our union is attested by the following facts: In the Penn-Ohio strike, Negro workers demanded to know the position of the union on the Scottsboro case. During the strike of a metal plant, in Cleveland, the Negro workers asked the same question: "Is this the union that fights for the Scottsboro boys?" When our union leaders spoke and showed the close connection between the strikers' struggle and the struggle around the Scottsboro case, and declared the solidarity of the union to the struggle to help free the boys, the confidence of the Negro miners and metal workers in the respective unions (N.M.U. and S.M.W.I.U.) was strengthened. Also, it brought new strata of white workers into the struggle for Negro rights, thus establishing more unity in the struggle of black and white workers against the common enemy. This shows the importance of correct day-to-day work, and how necessary it is to link up the strike struggle with other campaigns and demands, thereby raising the struggles to higher levels.

The N.R.A. codes, in regulating wages in industries, either excluded Negro workers or fixed a differential, which meant lower wages. In some instances, the differential is from 25 to 50 per cent. Around such flagrant issues of discrimination, sanctioned by the government, our union could have built a mass base among the Negro proletariat, providing they had led a systematic and energetic fight for the equal rights of the Negroes. Failure to take advantage of this situation, to mobilize the entire union membership to struggle for equal wages and the rights granted to white workers, plus the additional rights that all workers are struggling for, lies with the Communist leaders in the unions. Here was an opportunity not only to expose the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, which endorsed this practice against the Negro workers, but also to show the close cooperation between the government and the A. F. of L. officialdom.

The underestimation of the role of an important ally in the struggle

on the trade union field weakens the fight against the bureaucracy and delays the building of bridges to broad, decisive sections of workers in industry. The struggle against this opportunism is assuming sharper forms; the incorrect methods of work and especially the practices regarding work among Negroes, brought over from reformist unions, still remain, in spite of many resolutions and clarification speeches. The fast moving events, the rising strike struggles, growing opposition to the A. F. of L. and government policies, demand that our unions and comrades jump from this period of lagging behind into bolder and better campaigns, organizing and leading mighty class battles, to build up the broadest united front of black and white workers for a sharp struggle against the degrading of their conditions. This is a necessary step to break the hold of the A. F. of L. officialdom upon a million workers; it is necessary to organize the large reservoir of the unorganized. It is a precondition to the building of mass revolutionary unions, the gateway to decisive sections of workers, a necessary base for our Party.

At the first national conference of the farmers, there attended Negro sharecroppers, fresh from the struggles in Tallapoosa County. These croppers and poor farmers braved the greatest difficulties to come to declare their solidarity with the struggles of the Northern and Western poor farmers against sales, foreclosures and inadequate relief. Their presence was a concrete expression of their willingness to fight side by side with the poor dirt farmers against the monopolies, the banks and insurance companies. These fighting representatives of the Sharecroppers' Union came with invaluable experience of struggle against the landlord-capitalists. The poor white farmers present enthusiastically greeted and accepted them. Here could be seen the opportunity to bring together these two struggling groups. But the croppers were not fully utilized. They were left off the National Farmers' Committee because the terror in the South against the croppers is very fierce. This opportunist retreat before the difficulties did not allow our comrades to consider seriously the militancy of broad sections of Negro croppers, their willingness and readiness to struggle, and the deepening consciousness of the utter necessity of bitter struggle to better conditions, taking root among important sections of Negro poor farmers and sharecroppers. They passed over the opportunity to cement a firm tie between the struggles of the poor white farmers and those of the Negro sharecroppers. Underestimation and opportunist fear, tendencies to hide the face of the croppers, prevented creating a deep, conscious expression of fighting solidarity among the white farmers. The sharecroppers expected concrete help from the white farmers. They looked forward to an alliance, realizing that this is a useful weapon, especially when formed with the Southern poor white farmers, to hinder the landlord-capitalists in mobilizing sections of the town and country poor against the Negro croppers. Failure to accomplish these things prolonged the breaking down of barriers of distrust for whites and left the two most important sections of poor farmers only partially united to resist the offensive of the government and landlord-capitalists.

The *Daily Worker*, the proletarian paper, is the leader in its field in the struggle for Negro rights. It has won the admiration of the Negro masses for its manner of conducting the Scottsboro campaign; its exposure of the Welfare Island Negro murder, and lynchings, discrimination of all kinds (unemployed relief and C.W.A. jobs), etc. In the South the penalty in some sections, if caught reading the *Daily Worker*, is long-

term imprisonment. Yet, sections of the Negro town and country poor accept this organ as their militant leader. It has made tremendous progress in winning increasing sympathy among the Negroes.

To give the paper a real mass base among the Negro population shortcomings must be overcome in the direction of: (1) making the paper more of an organizer in the struggle for Negro rights; (2) combatting the occasional infiltration of white chauvinist ideology; (3) continuity and consistent carrying through of campaigns; (4) more simply written and basic theoretical articles, explaining point by point the Communist position on the Negro question.

Because the *Daily Worker* has penetrated and can penetrate places where, under the present conditions, it is impossible to send or keep organizers, it is imperative to realize that the role of the paper as an organizer of the liberation struggle is a very important one. How to organize committees to struggle against the capitalist offensive and Negro reformism, how to struggle against lynchings, etc., are questions which, when concretely answered in relation to their organizational phase, will speed up the whole Negro liberation struggle.

To carry out this task, we must guard against going "one step forward and two steps backward", by allowing the filth of white chauvinism to filter into the paper, *i.e.*, one incident each in both Mike Gold's and the Health columns. Such infiltration shows a lack of control and great unclarity on the Negro question by the writers. Bolshevik control and check-up on all the articles can entirely eliminate the filtering in of alien ideas and prevent such confusion in the process of giving greater clarity.

In the columns of the feature writers, all too seldom, is the Negro question discussed. When these writers have taken up the question, our position has not always been clearly brought out and frequently has been blurred over or treated in a general manner. It goes without saying that these columns should be used as the springboards for conducting a broad popularization campaign as well as the medium through which we bring our program to new strata of people.

At times, the immensity of important political and economic campaigns submerge temporarily or partially the struggle of the Negro people. Continuity and coordination, the selection of the proper articles at the proper time, the proportioning of space, etc., all come under the heading of control. The progress and improvement in quantity and quality of the paper in the past year are proof of the ability of the staff to overcome, within the shortest possible time, these shortcomings.

V. POPULARIZATION OF THE SLOGAN: RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Through the medium of clarification of the Leninist conception of the solution of the national question and the practical steps taken, the Party has been able to begin to popularize among the Negro people the slogan of the right of self-determination for the Black Belt up to the point of separation. But this beginning is very small. Self-determination has not been explained in detail, as to the benefits that the Russian workers and peasants obtained after the October Revolution. This slogan raises the question of power, the way out for the Negro people in the Black Belt. Only the realization of this slogan can guarantee the securing of equal rights for the Negroes.

Self-determination means the overthrow of the landlord-capitalist

class rule in the South. It is a basic fundamental slogan of national rebellion. It is a slogan that expresses the basic demands (land, equality and freedom) of the Negro people.

> "First of all, true right to self-determination means that the Negro majority and not the white minority in the entire territory of the administratively united Black Belt exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative and judicial authority. At the present time all this power is concentrated in the hands of the white bourgeoisie and landlords. It is they who appoint all officials, it is they who dispose of public property, it is they who determine the taxes, it is they who govern and make the laws. Therefore, *the overthrow of this class rule* in the Black Belt is unconditionally necessary in the struggle for the Negroes' right of self-determination. This, however, means at the same time the overthrow of the yoke of American imperialism in the Black Belt on which the forces of the local white bourgeoisie depend. Only in this way, only if the Negro population of the Black Belt wins its freedom from American imperialism, *even* to the point of deciding *itself* the relations between its country and other governments, especially the United States, will it win real and complete self-determination." (C. I. Resolution, 1930.)

Therefore, in the Scottsboro case, in the struggle of the sharecroppers in Camp Hill and Tuscaloosa, it is the task of the Communists boldly to popularize this slogan and to organize around it mass actions of Negro and white workers in strikes, tax boycotts and demonstrations. Such a stirring up of the masses into mighty actions of struggle for their demands is the beginning of an important political change in the level of the struggle for liberation. This slogan, when understood, will fire the revolutionary potentialities of the Negro masses.

> "If once thoroughly understood by the Negro masses and adopted as their slogan—it will lead them into the struggle for the overthrow of the power of the ruling bourgeoisie, which is impossible without such revolutionary struggle." (C.I. Resolution, 1930.)

With greater Bolshevik decisiveness and determination, the Party can free itself of these shortcomings in the work in the Negro field. The good beginnings are proof of the unlimited possibilities of developing a powerful mass movement for Negro liberation, utilizing every repressive act as an opportunity to organize the mass indignation of the Negro people. The Party has the task to deepen the Negro liberation struggle, to raise it to higher forms of political mass fights, to broaden and extend our ideological and organizational base in the Black Belt, to continue energetically to develop Negro cadres and maintain a constant fire against all forms of Negrophobia.

The Party must lead the Negro liberation struggle. It is the organized detachment of the struggling Negro masses and is responsible to imbue the Negroes "with the spirit of discipline and method of fighting, with the spirit of organization and perseverence." (*Foundations of Leninism*—J. Stalin.) Therefore, the tasks laid down in the 1930 C.I. Resolution and concretized by the Fourteenth Plenum of the Party, and the tasks put forward in the Open Letter remain in full force.

The Eighth Convention of the Party has further elaborated upon these tasks. Again greater emphasis and clarity were given. The strug-

gle on two fronts, the struggle against all forms of white chauvinism and against Negro bourgeois national influences and national reformism, was placed before the Party with Bolshevik preciseness. Especially was the struggle against all shades of Negro bourgeois nationalism explained in great detail, a subject which cannot be dealt with in the scope of this article and which requires separate discussion. The Convention demanded a quick turn in the trade union work among the Negro proletarians as well as the rapid increasing of our organizational strength. The Convention registered achievements, but they only revealed the tremendous possibilities and the vast field for work.

These tasks are very essential. The Negro people, an important ally of the proletariat, in revolutionary struggle for the right of self-determination, form another attacking force against the exploiters and oppressors of the workers and toilers. *Every revolutionary action, aimed at the heart of American imperialism, whether it has its source among the revolutionary proletariat, developing the struggle for power, or whether it is a stubborn upsurge among the poor farmers, or a national revolutionary movement among the oppressed Negro masses, weakens the foundations of the imperialist oppressors and becomes significant in hastening their downfall.*

History has placed before our Party the task of leading this movement and to prepare the workers and toilers for the decisive struggle. This is not an impossible task. The best proof is the Soviet Union. The Negro people want complete freedom. Our Party and the Negro Communists are subjective factors which determine, to a large extent, when the heavy yoke of oppression will be broken. The way out for the Negro people is the revolutionary way.

> "It is likewise necessary, first, to explain constantly that only the Soviet regime is able to give the nations real equality, by uniting the proletariat and all the masses of workers in the struggle against the bourgeoisie; secondly, to support the revolutionary movement among the subject nations (for example, Ireland, American Negroes, etc.), and in the colonies." (*Theses of the Second Congress of the C.I. on National and Colonial Questions.*)

To correct these shortcomings quickly in the practical work helps to bring us nearer to bigger battles. It means the carrying out of the Leninist line on the Negro question, the carrying out of the decisions of the Communist International and the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A.

The Fight for the United Front in Switzerland

By KAROLSKI

I. SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY REVISES ITS PROGRAM

AN extraordinary congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party took place in Luzerne at the end of January, 1935, after having been postponed four times. This delay is explained by the fact that the party leaders were not sure whether the congress would agree to a revision of the program in the spirit of a social-patriotic recognition of the need to defend the fatherland and of the rejection of the "dictatorship of the proletariat". (In the previous program of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party mention was made of the dictatorship of the proletariat.) By a majority of 80 votes (out of 700 delegates present), the congress approved the swing of Swiss Social-Democracy to the Right. Three hundred oppositional delegates voted against the revision of the program.

But it would be incorrect to draw the conclusion from this decision that no swing to the Left is taking place in Switzerland such as is to be observed in other capitalist countries among the Social-Democratic workers and a considerable part of their party officials. We shall try to indicate the processes that are taking place in the Swiss working class, to show *how deep down is the basis of the swing to the Left by the Swiss Social-Democratic workers*, how the influence of the Communist Party has received strength during the last year, and what a unique form the struggle for the united front in Switzerland is assuming.

It is interesting to note the form in which the open social-patriots and the extreme Right wing of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party tried to serve up the bourgeois theory of the need to defend the fatherland to the Social-Democratic workers. They tried to utilize, in their own interests, the healthy protest of the Swiss workers against Hitlerite fascism, tried to utilize the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union for the most despicable aims of their policy of civil peace. It was in this way that they wanted to drag the revision of the program into the Congress, and to remove the formal barriers standing in the way of the coalition of Social-Democracy with the bourgeoisie.

But matters did not take the turn that the Social-Democratic leaders desired. In the first place, in spite of all the efforts of the party apparatus and in spite of the fact that the Congress was postponed on four occasions, almost 300 delegates joined the opposition at the Congress which opposed the thesis of the need to defend the fatherland. If we take into consideration the fact that the Right-wingers had dozens of votes at the Congress, belonging to parliamentary and Social-Democratic officials, it may be said that the 300 delegates who voted against the revision of the program represented the majority of the members of the Social-Democratic Party, at the Congress. But what was still more important was the fact that *the first step towards the practical operation of the new Social-Democratic program was rejected by a considerable*

majority of the same congress. Against the wishes of the leaders, and in the teeth of a letter signed personally by Robert Grimm, who had been "suddenly taken ill" and could not come to the congress, the congress decided to *reject* the new bill which proposed to prolong the period of military service and which was to be submitted to a referendum of the whole nation on February 24, 1935. All the efforts of the Social-Democratic leaders to drag in, by the back-stairs entrance, so to speak, the thesis of the need to defend the fatherland by giving great prominence to the "program of work", the press law and a number of other questions, came to grief. The delegates at the Congress were under the powerful influence of the anti-fascist and anti-militarist sentiments of the toilers of Switzerland, and they understood instinctively that their attitude to the "defense of the fatherland" was the central problem on which the further policy of their party depended.

The opposition at the Congress was not unanimous. Here were to be found various elements, from bourgeois-pacifists, Christian-Socialists, and "Left" leaders, to class-conscious workers who, from the class point of view, consistently rejected the need to defend the fatherland, rejected the line taken by the leadrs for "civil peace", and fought consistently for the policy of the united front. It was only the organizational weakness of the opposition that explains the fact that the congress rejected by 20 votes the proposal to send the decision to the lower organizaions for a second vote. This caused many of the extremely indignant delegates to leave the congress.

The results of the congress have not satisfied anybody. The bourgeoisie had expected that Social-Democracy would take energetic action against the Communist referendum and would help to push the army act through. The Rights did not expect such strong resistance and such a growth of the opposition, for they considered that resistance in the Social-Democratic Party had been paralyzed as a result of the expulsion of a number of prominent leaders of the Zurich Left wing. But, what is most important of all, the expected settlement and stabilization of the situation in the Social-Democratic Party has not taken place after the congress. On the contrary, the crisis in the Social-Democratic Party has become extremely sharp as a result of the Congress, and it became evident in the course of its work that the little Communist Party of Switzerland was already exerting a strong ideological influence over wide sections of Social-Democrats.

In order to understand this swing to the Left on the part of the workers it is necessary to examine the peculiarities of the struggle of the Communist Party for the establishment of the united front in Switzerland. Until recently, the two questions which, in all the neighboring countries, had rallied the masses to the struggle for the united front, namely, the danger of fascism and the danger of war, were not so strongly felt by the broad masses of the people in Switzerland. Strong illusions reigned among the broad masses on the question of "neutrality", the belief that Switzerland would not take part in the coming war. They believed that fascism did not represent an urgent danger as far as Switzerland is concerned, because the Swiss bourgeoisie had not yet directly set about cutting down their fairly extensive democratic rights. Moreover, the crisis began in Switzerland much later than in other countries, and finally, a great role was played by the fact that the relationship of forces between the Communist Party and Social-Democracy in

Switzerland was different from that in the neighboring countries. Here there was a little Communist Party and a strong Social-Democratic Party which had succeeded in concealing its reformist policy by "Left" phrases. For many years the Communist Party had not been able to get over its isolation from the masses. At the same time the toiling masses of Switzerland had not yet felt the split in the working class so powerfully as in neighboring countries, because with the exception of Basle and Zurich, the trade-union movement in Switzerland was not split. While the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland has 40,000 members and there are 250,000 workers in the reformist trade unions, the C. P. of Switzerland has only 2,000 members, while the Red trade unions and the Red Trade Union Opposition have 4,000 members.

At one time the Swiss Brandlerites had tried to deduce the Social-Democratic theory of the so-called "exceptionalism of Switzerland" from the peculiar character of the working-class movement in Switzerland. The Brandlerites denied the imperialist character of Switzerland, they denied the war danger and the approach of the economic crisis, and attempted to force their opportunist policy towards Social-Democracy onto the Communist Party. But the victory of fascism in Germany and Austria had its effect in Switzerland as well. A number of fascist organizations sprang up there, which tried to take root among the petty-bourgeois elements in the villages, and especially in the army, and even to penetrate into some factories. They succeeded in doing this, especially in Schafhausen, where the Brandlerites, who were thrown out of the Communist Party, are carrying on a most foul Social-Democratic policy. A struggle has flared up in the camp of the bourgeoisie around the question of the foreign political line to be taken by Switzerland. The Communist deputy in parliament, Comrade Robert Mueller, has exposed the negotiations of General Ville, representative of the Swiss General Staff, with Hitler and Blomberg. This exposure has showed the extend to which certain sections of the Swiss bourgeoisie and generals are already prepared to base themselves on Hitlerite Germany. The economic crisis has become more intense. The unemployment figures have passed 100,000, and as the path of inflation has hitherto been closed as far as the Swiss bourgeoisie are concerned, they have begun a direct attack on the standard of living of the working class. At the present moment the government and the bourgeoisie are preparing to make a general attack on the working class, having in view a 20% wage-cut.

On this basis a profound Leftward-moving process has taken place among the masses. As everywhere, the Social-Democrats tried to gloss over the danger, which the toiling masses in Switzerland, though later than in other countries, were beginning to understand, namely, the danger of war, the danger of fascism, the development towards fascism of the state apparatus, the cutting down of democratic rights and the lowering of the standard of living of the toilers. By taking a number of steps aimed at adaptation to the changed situation, and especially by indulging in wide propaganda of a Swiss variety of the de Man plan,* the Social-Democratic leaders wanted to keep the masses back from the class struggle, to lull them to sleep, so that they could at the same time begin to "grow into the state" after having changed the party program and included in it the thesis of the need to defend the fatherland.

Did the Communist Party take advantage of the favorable position

* See *C. I.* Nos. 12 and 13. Vol. XI. (1934).

to put an end to its isolation and to rally the masses to the struggle, to beat back fascism and defeat the reformist policy of Social-Democracy?

II. THE C.P. OF SWITZERLAND ORGANIZES THE RESISTANCE OF THE MASSES

A considerable improvement took place in the mass work of the Communist Party of Switzerland after the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The Party ceased to carry on an "abstract" struggle against Social-Democracy. The little Communist Party of Switzerland, thanks to its independent action and correct policy, succeeded in compelling the powerful Social-Democratic Party to take a number of steps and to widely popularize the idea of the united front among the masses. Here are some examples.

First example: At the beginning of 1934, the bourgeoisie tried to push through a bill which the toilers nicknamed the "convict law". The aim of this law was to make a big drive against the right to organize and would have led to the suppression of the Communist Party. The Right Social-Democrats and especially the trade union leaders, openly defended this convict law. Thanks to the fact that the Communist Party rallied the masses and introduced a proposal for a referendum, a wide opposition arose within the Social-Democratic Party against this bill. As the result of this opposition, the S. D. leaders were forced, at the last moment, to support the Communist Party's slogan of the rejection of the convict law. During the referendum held on March 13, 1934, almost half a million workers and peasants *turned down the convict law* and thus sharply defeated the first fascist efforts made by the bourgeoisie.

Second example: As against the line adopted by the Social-Democrats, "let the fascist demonstrate without hindrance in the working class quarters", the Communist Party with the help of non-Party organizations, especially through the Zurich "League for the Struggle Against Fascism", rose to the struggle against fascist provocation. In Zurich on May 29, 1934, 10,000 workers came out on to the streets, built barricades, and fought fiercely, not only against the fascists, but also against henchmen of Wiesendanger, the Social-Democratic police president, who were protecting a fascist meeting. In these battles the Communist Party showed that it was able to strike a blow at the bourgeoisie, not only through the ballot as was the case during the referendum on the convict bill, but that it was also capable of rallying the broad masses against fascism in the process of the *struggle outside parliament*, and, what is particularly important, of uniting many thousands of Social-Democratic workers in a united front of action.

The third example also shows the flexibility of the activity of the Communist Party. On September 15, the Social-Democrats and the trade unions held mass demonstrations in support of the so-called initiative in the struggle against the crisis, by organizing a "day of labor". Although the Social-Democrats and the trade unions rejected the proposal of the Communists to hold joint demonstrations, the Communists did not boycott the demonstrations organized by them, did not call for independent demonstrations, but called on the masses to participate in the carrying out of the "day of labor" so as to give a united front character to these demonstrations. The Communist Party was fully successful in this respect. The masses demonstrated for the united front, against the reformist proposal to give special powers to the government and for a whole series of class demands.

Fourth example: When the Swiss bourgeoisie began energetically to increase their armaments, the Swiss Communists brought forward a proposal for a referendum against the lengthening of the period of military service for conscripts, and drew a large number of Social-Democratic workers into the united front committees, collecting 80,000 signatures for a referendum against the army bill. They confronted the Social-Democratic congress with an accomplished fact and thus compelled it to support the referendum.

The fight against the army bill was one of the most difficult fights which the Communist Party has had to wage during the last year. The terror operated by the state apparatus, and all the bourgeois parties and the fascists, has been carried on with unparalleled force. In spite of the decision of the Lucerne Social-Democratic Party Congress, which, under the pressure of the masses voted against the bill, the Right Social-Democrats and trade-union leaders openly went over to the side of the militarists. In a special leaflet entitled "Hello, the Right Socialists Speaking!", the social-patriots advocated increased armaments. It was primarily as a result of this fact that the bill was adopted by a majority of 75,000 votes. But what is especially worthy of note is the fact that the Communist Party succeeded in rallying half a million workers and peasants to the struggle against the army bill. It is also important that a series of districts clearly peasant in character, such as Schwitz, Oberwalden, Niedweldon, Freiburg, Apentzel and Neiburg, voted against the army bill. This opens up great possibilities for the Communist Party, in the sense of winning allies for the fighting proletariat.

III. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITED FRONT

In these serious battles which the Communist Party has waged, we already find important elements of the policy of the united front. During this period, the Communist Party repeatedly made united front proposals to the Social-Democratic Party for the struggle to secure the release of Comrade Thaelmann, to rally joint aid to the Spanish proletariat, and to undertake joint action against the army bill.

In reply to the proposal to organize the struggle for the release of Comrade Thaelmann, the Social-Democrats gave a most provocative reply, one such as probably no other Social-Democratic Party has given to the Communists, indulging in incitement against the Soviet Union and proposing demonstrations in front of the Soviet Consulate. They gave no reply whatever to the proposal to aid the Spanish workers. But in respect to the last proposal, the Social-Democrats were forced to act differently in connection with the decision of the Bureau of the Second International. But of this we shall speak later.

The calculations of the Social-Democratic leaders who replied so provocatively to the proposal for a joint struggle to secure the release of Comrade Thaelmann and other anti-fascists were made without consideration for their masters. The changed situation in Switzerland and the actions organized by the Communist Party were bound to have an influence over broad sections of Social-Democratic workers and their party officials. At this time, especially in Zurich, a Left Wing began to take shape, which differs very considerably from the traditional "Left" wing of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. The secretary of the strongest Social-Democratic organization in Switzerland, Ernst Walter

(Zurich), repeatedly made public declarations in favor of the united front with the Communists.

Then the platform of the Left Social-Democrats appeared for the first time. It still contained much that was characteristic of the old "Left" wing. It did not contain a word against the suggestion to defend the fatherland; the question of the united front with the Communists is not raised in a positive fashion. It even contains attacks on the Comintern. This was no accident since, the process of alignment among the Left wingers themselves was not yet sufficiently strong. The godfathers of this platform were Sternburg, the theoretician of the Socialist Labor Party, and also the Brandlerites led by Brinhof, who introduced a whole series of Brandlerite demands into the platform. In spite of all these shortcomings and the serious political weaknesses of the platform it assisted in deepening the crisis in the Social-Democratic Party.

As the class battles developed further in Switzerland, the narrow bounds of this platform were broken through by the process of alignment within the Left wing. While Nicol in Geneva and Brinhof in Schafhausen, who had strongly entrenched themselves in the state apparatus, differed very little from the Right Social-Democrats, and while the former Left winger, Arthur Schmidt from Aarau, openly joined the social-patriots, coming forward in favor of the need to defend the fatherland, the Left wingers in Zurich, led by Ernst Walter, and Anderfuhren, took another step forward and energetically advocated the united front. But here the irresolute character of this Zurich Left wing made itself felt. It could not find the courage to do as the Left Paris district of the French Socialist Party had done, and bring about the united front over the heads of the central leadership of their party. And this led to a situation where the Left wingers, led by Ernst Walter, were removed, though by an insignificant majority, it is true, as a result of the pressure of the whole of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party apparatus and of that of the trade union and municipal apparatus which, in Zurich, are controlled by the Right wingers.

Meanwhile the session of the Bureau of the Second International took place, at which the well-known decision was made to withdraw the decision prohibiting the Socialist Parties to form a united front with the Communists. In addition, Robert Grimm, the representative of Swiss Social-Democracy signed the statement issued by the seven parties, in which the desire was expressed that negotiations be conducted with the Comintern with a view to the establishment of the united front on an international scale. In view of this statement and the decisions of the Paris Bureau, the Communist Party of Switzerland decided to make another approach to the Social-Democratic Party. Taking the statement signed by Grimm as its starting point, the Communist Party formulated a number of demands in defense of the democratic rights of the toilers of Switzerland and proposed that an agreement be made on this basis. For six weeks the Social-Democratic leaders, including Grimm, evaded a reply. But the double-dealing of Grimm, who had spoken in favor of the united front in Paris, while rejecting it or letting it pass by in silence in Switzerland, opened the eyes of many Social-Democratic workers and party officials who had still retained their faith in Grimm. The Zurich Left wingers drew the first practical conclusions from this, and made a proposal to the Communist Party to conclude a pact on the united front. This was probably the only case when the opposition inside

the Social-Democratic Party made an agreement with the Communist Party over the heads of their leaders. The platform is based on the promises made by Grimm in Paris, and shows what dangers threaten the Swiss working class from the government, the bourgeoisie and the fascists. The platform states the following:

> "Such a situation and such a position makes it essential for all class-conscious workers to increase the struggle against reformism, against the splitting policy, and for the establishment of unity of action, and to do everything possible to draw the broad masses of workers and other sections of the toiling population into a joint united struggle. The Communist Party and the Socialist Left wing conclude an agreement to undertake joint activity on the basis of a combined platform, so that they will help to bring about unity of action in spite of the sabotage of the reformist leaders."

The platform sets itself the task of bringing about the "general mobilization of all the forces of the factory workers, unemployed and tenants, in the struggle against fascism, militarism and the war danger". Among the concrete measures proposed are "demonstrations, factory meetings, committees of struggle for the preparation of strikes, and the mobilization of the unemployed and the tenants". In addition, activity must be carried on jointly in the reformist unions against the reformist line. And in order to attract the masses of trade-union members into the struggle against the attacks of the employers, it is proposed to promote, to trade-union posts, those workers who stand for trade-union unity, democracy in the unions and the class struggle".

This platform appeared in December, 1934, a month before the Lucerne Social-Democratic Congress. The Zurich Left wingers and young Socialists were compelled on this occasion to display their real face for a second time. At the elections to the municipal council in Zirch, a reactionary, (an officer in close touch with the fascist circles), and the Communist worker named Otto Brunner, who is popular, were put forward as candidates in Zurich. The Social-Democrats did not put forward their own candidate so as to secure the support of the bourgeois parties in Zurich in getting the budget accepted. This was too much for the Social-Democratic workers. The Left Social-Democrats and young Socialists issued a declaration calling on the workers of Zurich to vote for the Communist Otto Brunner, under the slogan "class against class". For the first time a Communist candidate received 10,000 votes, whereas previously, the Communists had not received more than 4,000 votes.

IV. THE CRISIS IN SWISS SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IS BECOMING MORE INTENSE

Each of these facts—the operation of unity of action, and the manifesto of the Left Social Democrats and the Young Socialists in favor of the Communist, Brunner—caused the S.D. leaders to resort to the weapon of expulsion. Two days after this incident, the organization of the Young Socialists was dissolved, and the same took place with the Zurich youth organization. A number of prominent leaders of the Left wing of the S.D. party, including people of 20 years' Party standing, such as Ernst Walter, Anderfuhren and several other Social-Democrats were expelled.

In this way the Social-Democratic leaders tried to kill two birds with one stone: first, to destroy the united front with the Communists, and second, by expelling the prominent leaders of the Zurich Left wing and smashing up the opposition, to drag into the new program the point about the need to "defend the fatherland" and to establish the united front with the bourgeoisie. But they did not succeed in carrying out this plan in full. The united front movement in Switzerland continued to develop. The Communists clearly realized this, and also clearly expressed the point in their agreement with the Lefts that this was only a "step towards cooperation", that this stage, namely, agreement with the Lefts, must be taken as the starting point for the establishment of the united front with the broad masses of Social-Democratic workers who have remained in the Party and who are organized in the trade unions. Together with the Lefts, a number of practical steps were taken to extend the united front movement beyond the confines of Zurich, and throughout the whole country. Meetings of Left Social-Democrats together with the Communists were held in Basle, Geneva, Lausanne, and other smaller towns. A number of commissions were set up on a parity basis (for work in the reformist unions, among the tenants, etc.). Some practical successes were achieved in this sphere among the builders, metal workers and municipal workers in Zurich. The "unity of action" movement (Aktionsgemeineschaft) is now carrying on a struggle against the army bill.

The second task which the S.D. leaders set themselves when they expelled the Lefts was to break up the opposition at the congress. At the beginning of this article we pointed out how they were unsuccessful in achieving this. Almost 300 delegates voted against the resolution on the need to defend the fatherland, and the majority of the congress, in spite of the leaders, voted for the rejection of the army bill. There was even a purely proletarian group from French Switzerland at the congress, which, on behalf of the six sections, took up a consistent Marxist position on all decisive questions dealt with.

The crisis in the Social-Democratic Party continued to deepen. The Left wing began to issue its own paper the *Sozialistische Aktion*. It is interesting to examine the path of development of the Lefts. Half a year has passed between the first platform entitled *Hello, hello, Left Wing Speaking!*, the political mistakes and weaknesses of which we have described above, and the speakers' notes published by the Left wing on the eve of the congress. It is clear from the speakers' notes how far the process of alignment has gone in the Left wing. As against Nicol, the Left wingers now adopt a definite position on a whole series of questions. This was greatly assisted by the Social-Democratic workers' delegation that visited the Soviet Union on November 7, 1934. The delegation consisted entirely of officials of the Social-Democratic Party and the reformist trade unions, who traveled to the land of the proletarian dictatorship in spite of their doubts and hesitations, being really anxious to learn the truth about the Soviet Union and to give an honest report of what they saw there to the Swiss workers. We give here but a few quotations from these speakers' notes published by the Left wing of the Social-Democratic Party, so as to show its path of development.

> "The new [Social-Democratic—A.K.] program is marked by all the features of a rotten compromise, and by confusion and ambiguity. The 1920 program was a concession to the Left;

the 1934 program is a concession to the Right, to the middle classes; it is the *spiritual resurrection of the Grutli Union**; its ideas are expressed with insufficient clearness; it has a rambling form of expression; and taken as a whole, is a very poor hash. The spirit and the language of the Marxian outlook, the Marxian theory, have been relegated to the archives in the very place where they are required, in the program of the Party. The aim of the revision made is to keep the workers in the Party, and to win the middle classes. The most probable result is to lose these workers who are opening their eyes, and not to win the middle classes.

"Why do we completely reject this half fledged program? It estimates the course of development from the point of view of the *petty-bourgeoisie. It says nothing about imperialism, about our attitude towards Soviet Russia. The dictatorship of the proletariat drops out of the program* but it does not make up its mind to speak out for the domination of the toilers. It is enamored of bourgeois democracy, without understanding the results of such a thoughtless love. It is a program of social-reform and not a program of socialist revolution. It is helpless where it ought to strike at fascism, and consequently cannot understand the necessity for overcoming it by a socialist revolution. There is therefore not a word about the illegal struggle, and not a word about Socialist-Democracy."

In this document, despite certain weaknesses and unclarity ("The domination of the toilers", etc.), we clearly feel the influence of Communist ideology. The weakest side of the Left wingers is their organizational weakness, which made itself shown clearly at the congress. If they had been more solidly organized, they could easily have secured the taking of a second vote in the lower organizations against the revision of the S.D. program. Only 20 votes were wanting at the congress to carry through the proposal that a vote be taken in the lower organizations.

V. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITED FRONT CONTINUES

The Communist Party will boldly and determinedly continue its united front policy in the coming battles, and as the starting point in the struggle for the united front will put forward in a differentiated form in each canton and in each locality such questions as will render it possible, in the present situation, to rally the broadest sections of workers and toilers for the struggle. Thanks to the policy of the Communist Party, wide sections of Social-Democratic workers are beginning to understand that the Communist Party is honestly striving to bring about the united front, and that the accusation which the S.D. leaders usually hurl at the Communists of merely wanting to maneuver, is a piece of slander. Furthermore, it is becoming more and more clear to the masses that it is not the Communists who are maneuvering, but Grimm and Reinhard with a view to deceiving their own supporters and compelling them to submit to the policy of the united front with the bourgeoisie. In the process of the struggle, the S.D. workers will realize ever more clearly, that it is perfectly illusory to hope to carry the whole S.D. party, with its present leaders, along the path of the class struggle, and that only a powerful mass Communist Party can carry on a victorious struggle against the bourgeoisie. But the Communist Party of

* A bourgeois-patriotic organization of workers and handicraftsmen in Switzerland.

Switzerland never advanced the point that the S.D. workers must join the Communist Party as a condition for the united front. The C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party launched this reproach after leaving the proposal of the Communist Party without a reply for six weeks.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of Switzerland replied to this reproach by an open letter addressed to all Social-Democratic workers. Among other things, the letter states the following:

> "Your Party leaders mention two questions which they addressed to our Party at the Binne Congress. Firstly, were we ready to conclude an armistice or a non-aggression pact in 'the form in which Communist Russia itself concluded one with the capitalist states', and were we prepared to honestly observe such a pact?
>
> "We do not think that the question of the pact for a joint struggle against capitalist reaction between two working-class parties can or should be compared with treaties which the Socialist Soviet Union is compelled to sign with capitalist countries, because in the former case the question at issue is one of an alliance between class comrades, while in the latter case, it is one of a treaty between deadly enemies. But in respect to the essence of this question, we have repeatedly declared and again repeat the following:
>
> "'We are prepared to refrain from mutual attacks during the period of joint activity and will honestly and loyally carry out the obligations contained in the pact concluded between your party and ours.' But are your leaders raising this question at the present moment really for the purpose of bringing about the conclusion of such a pact after receiving a favorable reply from us? Unfortunately this is not so. In the reply, given by your leaders, it states that our party has twice proposed a pact to your party but at one and the same time it 'plays with the so-called Left wing and seeks to bring about a new split in the Party with the aid of a few irresponsible elements'. They claim that our party denies its own proposal, is guilty of treachery and proves that in general it does not understand the first condition of united front activity, namely, an honest desire to stop all conflict and intrigues in general."

And further:

> "But your leaders remain silent about our proposals. Week after week passed, until a group of your comrades who have rallied into the Socialist Left wing made a proposal to our Party that a start be made, at any rate, in carrying out unity of action, so as to set an example in this way to the working class throughout Switzerland.
>
> "Judge for yourselves, Social-Democratic workers, whether our Party could act otherwise, than it did, if it did not wish to betray the cause of the united front which is defended. Judge for yourselves whether our Party had to reject this proposal of the Socialist Left wing, and whether such a rejection would not have been a just excuse for reproaching us with dishonesty, an accusation which your leaders now make against us without any foundation? From the very beginning the Communist Party has publicly declared to the organized workers in its press and at open meetings of the movement for unity of action, that it does not regard the pact with the Socialist Left wing as the fulfillment of unity of action, but only as the first step towards it

as an example for the rest of the working class in Switzerland, and in particular for you, Social-Democratic workers."

The unity of action which the Communist Party of Switzerland has brought about with the Left wing, is the first considerable step towards bringing about unity of action by the Swiss working class as a whole. The C.P. of Switzerland will therefore carry out all the obligations arising from this agremeent with the greatest consistency, as it has done hitherto. Having successfully made this first step, however, the Communist Party must now go further and exert every effort to extend the bounds of the operation of the united front. If the Zurich Left wing has already overcome many difficulties and objections which it had raised against the Communists, this cannot as yet be said of the majority of the S.D. organizations in Switzerland. In its united front policy, therefore, the Communist Party will not always make the establishment of the united front dependent on all the points which are contained in the program of collaboration. The Communist Party will make its starting point the degree to which the given S.D. organization was moved to the Left, and the questions which are the most urgent in the given locality. These burning and urgent problems will also serve the Communist Party as the starting point for the further extension of the united front.

The double-dealing policy of Grimm, who was overflowing in Paris with promises regarding the united front, while in Switzerland rejecting it, meets with true support among some of the "left" wingers. For example, Schneider who prior to and at the congress spoke against the need to defend the fatherland, is now, after the congress, trying to support the policy of the Right wing leaders. But it is not only important to expose Schneider. The broad masses of the S.D. workers who follow him and who supported his position at the congress, are seriously striving to bring about a change in the Social-Democratic policy which has been carried out up to the present. This fact must be kept in the center of our attention when operating our united front policy in Basle.

It is important, in principle, that not only the social-patriots of the S.D. party should discredit themselves in the eyes of the masses during this stubborn struggle being waged by the Communist Party for the establishment of the united front, but that the same fate should overtake the Schafhausen group of Brandlerites led by Brinhof, and the handful of Trotskyites operating in Zurich. The Zurich Left wing Social-Democrats insisted on drawing these elements into the united front as well, harboring the illusion with regard to these groups that they would not take the side of the social-patriots at the decisive moment. Very little time was required to disperse these illusions. The counter-revolutionary group of Trotskyites who had gone over to the side of Social-Democracy exposed themselves in the eyes of the Social-Democratic workers in the decisive December days when a fierce struggle was going on for the united front in Zurich. The Trotskyites acted as open agents of the social-patriotic C.C. and by their three votes rendered it impossible at the next meeting of the young Socialists for a decision to be adopted regarding the operation of the united front.

Brinhoff's supporters in Schafhausen, whom even Brandler criticized for their own anti-working class policy, hesitated for several months in an effort to avoid displaying their attitude towards unity of action, so as not to lose the last vestiges of their influence in Schafhausen. At the end of April, at the first unity of action conference in Switzerland, they had

to throw off their mask. They tried to eliminate from the platform the most important condition for unity of action, namely, the necessity for the struggle outside parliament. Instead of this, they agitated for the inclusion in the S.D. program of the Swiss variety of the de Man plan, and advocated reformist trade-union legalism, and as was the case with the Trotskyites, not only the Communists, but also the Left Social-Democrats gave a proper trouncing to Brinhof's supporters in this connection.

Following the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Communist Party of Switzerland has proceeded to carry out a serious mass policy. It has drawn tens of thousands of workers into the orbit of its influence, and has rallied them for the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against fascism and the war danger. Its authority among the Social-Democratic workers has grown apace. But so far it has not succeeded in transforming itself into a mass party. Further, a particular weakness in the work of the Party is to be found in its weak positions in the factories, and the very insufficient work carried on inside the reformist trade unions. And although the Party has succeeded in maintaining its positions in the Lausanne Trades Council for a whole year, it has so far not succeeded in utilizing them as a starting point for movement throughout Switzerland against the reformist line of the Trade Union Congress. That Party did not maintain its positions at the elections. The Communist Party must still do a great deal of work in this direction and act more boldly in operating the united front tactics, in carrying on mass work, and must bring in fresh and new cadres to the leading Party bodies with much greater energy. Everything goes to show that the Party, which has a consolidated leadership, steeled in mighty battles, will solve this important task and create the prerequisites for building a Bolshevik mass Party on the Swiss proletariat.

The Preparatory Campaign in Jugo-Slavia for the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern

IN connection with the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, which will take place in the first half of 1935, the C.C.C.P. Jugoslavia finds it necessary to carry through a discussion in all the Party organizations and cells on all the questions which are on the agenda of the Congress of the Comintern. This discussion must be linked up with the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the C.P. Jugoslavia, which must be elaborated, approved, popularized and carried into practice.

I. ON WHAT QUESTIONS SHOULD THE DISCUSSION BE CARRIED ON

The Agenda of the Seventh Congress is as follows: (1) Report of the E.C.C.I.; (2) The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Comintern in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism; (3) The Preparations for the Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Comintern; (4) Results of the Construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. The discussion must center around these basic questions of the Seventh Congress.

The aim of the discussion should be to give an all round basic explanation to the line of the Comintern and our Party, and then to work out and concretize the basic problems of the Congress in accordance with the situation and the concrete conditions of the class struggle in the various parts of Jugoslavia. The C.C.C.P.Y.S. calls the attention of the committees, organizations and individual comrades, first of all, to the following questions, which must be dealt with, and worked over in the course of the discussion.

1. *The Crisis of Fascism in Our Country.* On what basic questions did the Serbian military fascist dictatorship ("The Regime of January 26") suffer defeat? In what way is the crisis of fascism expressed? Is "democratization" of the regime possible? By what methods does the ruling bourgeoisie intend to carry on further fascization? What is the role of the various militarist cliques in the ruling fascist system? On what does the further development of the contradictions in the camp of the ruling bourgeoisie and in their policy depend?

2. *The Fascist Movement Among the Oppressed Nationalities.* How to fight against the fascist movement of Pavelich, in Horvatia, and with clerical fascism in Slovenia and Horvatia? Wherein lie the shortcomings of our previous struggle against the fascist movement among the oppressed peoples?

3. *The Problem of the Way Out of the Crisis.* The way out indicated by the bourgeoisie (increasing social and national oppression, the course for imperialist war, the democratic maneuvers of fascism), and the revolutionary way out (the overthrow of the militarist fascist dictatorship through the mass revolutionary struggle of the united forces of

the proletariat, the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities). Why are we Communists in favor of the fall of present day Versailles Jugoslavia? The bourgeois-democratic nature of the forthcoming revolution and the possibility of bringing about the national independence of the oppressed peoples by means of revolution (and not by means of war)? What lessons can we draw from the Spanish events?

4. *The Estimation of the Economic Situation in the Country.* Is the crisis turning into a depression in Jugoslavia, or does the economic crisis continue to develop? What caused an improvement in the situation in the various branches of industry (textile industry, mining, etc.)? The influence of the agrarian crisis on the economic situation of the whole country.

5. *The Problem of the Hegemony of the Proletariat in the Revolutionary Struggle of the Toiling Masses.* What are the basic driving forces of the coming revolution in Jugoslavia? Why is the victory of the peasantry and of the oppressed peoples impossible in the revolutionary struggle unless the leading role of the proletariat is ensured in them? Why cannot the revolution be victorious unless the majority of the working class are won to the side of Communism? What should every organization do in its sphere of activity to win the majority of the workers of the given factory, district, industry? How should the leading role of the proletariat be carried out in the fights of the peasants and the oppressed peoples (and national minorities) and of the toiling masses in general, in the various districts, regions and localities? What is the cause, from the point of view of organizational development and activity, of the unsatisfactory condition and inadequate activity of the national revolutionary movements (in Horvatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, Macedonia and Montenegro) and the peasant movement (in all regions)?

6. *The Strike Movement.* The lessons of the last strikes in the given locality. What should the units and the whole Party organization do to develop and strengthen the strike movement? Why is there no strike movement among the metal workers (Horvatia, Serbia), among the miners (Bosnia, Horvatian mountain region, Serbia) and in the big centers (Belgrade, Zagreb, etc.)? The question of converting economic strikes into political strikes as the basic link in the chain of Party tasks.

7. *The Tactics of the United Front.* Why are the tactics of the united front insufficiently applied in our country? How can the reformist leaders be removed from their dominating position in the workers' organizations and institutions, and how to deprive them of the possibility of hindering and disorganizing the development of revolutionary struggles? How to strengthen the struggle for realizing the unity of action of the proletariat in Jugoslavia.

8. *The Problem of Tactics and Slogans.* Why is it necessary to take a definite stand towards the maneuvers used by the bourgeoisie for awakening democratic illusions among the masses? What attitude should we assume towards the reformist plans for establishing minimum wages? What direct slogans of action should be advanced for the peasantry, for the oppressed nationalities, for the unemployed, and for the agricultural workers?

9. *The Formation of a Mass Bolshevik Party.* The role of the subjective factor in the revolution. How to fight against the sectarian fear of bringing new members into the Party. How to combine the necessity for giving our organization a mass character with the necessity of in-

creasing conspiracy and the guarantee against exposure. Lessons to be drawn from past exposures by the police. The problem of Party cadres. The task of the work in the fascist mass organizations (Sokol, etc.).

10. *The Struggle Against Imperialist War.* The problem of work in the army and navy. Why has our work been so weak in forming a powerful, anti-fascist and anti-war movement? Why are we opposed to war?

11. *The Danger of Deviations and Mistakes.* Why is the Right danger the chief danger at the present time? What is the essence of the Right and "Left" danger at the present time? What form does the Right danger take in the work of the given organization? The Right essence of "Left" deviations and sectarian practices.

II. HOW TO CARRY ON THE DISCUSSION

1. As soon as this resolution is received, every District leadership and every local Party committee must discuss all these questions, work out definite proposals and give corresponding instructions for carrying on the discussion in the cells and Party organizations.

2. Every cell and every Party unit must thoroughly work through these questions at several meetings. The discussion must be directed by the secretary of the cell or the representative of the District or local committee (instructor).

3. Every Party worker and every Party member must take part in the open discussion of all these questions. This open discussion must also be conducted in the central organ *Proletar*, in the theoretical *Klassenkampf* and in all the provincial and local Party papers.

4. After the discussion has taken place, all the leaders must send information about the results to the higher organs (District, Section, Subsection committees) and the latter in turn must inform the Regional Committee. The Regional Committees must send written reports to the C.C. on the discussion.

III. WHAT MATERIALS SHOULD BE USED FOR DISCUSSION

1. No. 3 and 4 of *What and How to Do.*
2. Decisions of the Fourth Party Conference.
3. Reports to the Party Conference.
4. Special issue of *Proletar* on the results of the Party Conference and the discussion in connection with the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.
5. Separate pamphlets recently issued by the C.C.

C.C.C.P. JUGOSLAVIA

British Imperialism in India

By T. B.

INDIA is the keystone of the British Empire. To lose India means for the English bourgeoisie the doom of British imperialism.

The story of how the English came to India, of the days of the East India merchant company of the 17th century, has often been told by romantic bourgeois historians. In *British Imperialism in India*, by Joan Beauchamp, just published by Martin Lawrence, we have a book that breaks new ground written from the point of view of Marxism. The author knows her subject. In the first chapter we get a graphic picture of how the land was stolen from the people; of the ruthless despoiling of the village communities, their handicrafts and industry, to make way for British goods. In the second chapter the Marxist-Leninist contention that imperialism hinders the industrial development of the colonies is proven with a whole series of facts relating to events that continued in India up to the war. As the author says,

> "British policy allows a limited industrialization of India in order that she may help in the production of war materials, aid in fighting the trade competition of Japan and U.S.A., and be a profitable field for the investment of British capital. But her industrial development is subjected to the following restrictions: (a) It must be under the control of British capital, Indian capital being *placated with a junior partnership;* (b) Indian industries must never be allowed to compete on equal terms with home industries, or to work up raw material which is required for British industries; (c) the Indian market for British manufacturers must not be interfered with; and (d) industries for the production of the means of production must not be developed."

These statements are backed up by voluminous statistics citing industry after industry. The economic concessions found their political counterpart in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, the provisions of which have never been carried out, and which find an echo in the round table conferences and the recent proposals for constitutional reform which have split the Conservative Party in England.

The third chapter is packed full of data revealing the terrible toll of death from the sheer robbery and pillage of the country by the British imperialists. In the 19th century, for example, no fewer than 28 million people were swept away by famine. The vast mass of peasantry are crushed by extortionate rents, taxation, and blood-sucking usurers. Driven from the land, the peasantry are forced into the tea plantations, coal mines, cotton mills, etc. A shameless exploitation of women and little children goes on, recalling the coming of the factory system in England during the 18th century. Here is what the author has to say on this question:

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* *British Imperialism in India* by Joan Beauchamp. Cloth 5/-. Publishers, Martin Lawrence, Great James Street, W.C.1.

> "In the jute factories of Bengal in 1926, out of 319,000 workers in 76 mills, 80,000 were women and 29,000 children. The women bring their babies into the factory with them. Hours of work are from 7:30 a.m. to 7 p.m., with no regular intervals. The worker holds her baby on one arm as she tends her loom. The older children play about in an atmosphere charged with dirt and dust. Expectant mothers, haunted by fear of dismissal through absence from work, often give birth to their children in the factory itself. It was officially reported in 1924 that out of 132 women whose cases had been investigated, 102 had given birth to their children in the factories."

We could quote many such examples. It is not surprising that India should be a cauldron of illiteracy, destitution and disease.

The succeeding chapters deal with the trade unions, the rise of militancy among the workers, and the nationalist movement, in which the struggle for trade unionism and the great strike movements that led to the historic Meerut Case, Gandhi movement, the National Congress and the Constitutional Reform movement are graphically depicted.

Prepared for the Labor Research Department, London, this book can be recommended as a compendium of carefully selected and reliable data on India. The book contains a good bibliography and an excellent map showing the economic geography of India, and at five shillings is remarkably cheap. It is indispensable for a first-hand knowledge of how India is held down by the sword.

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